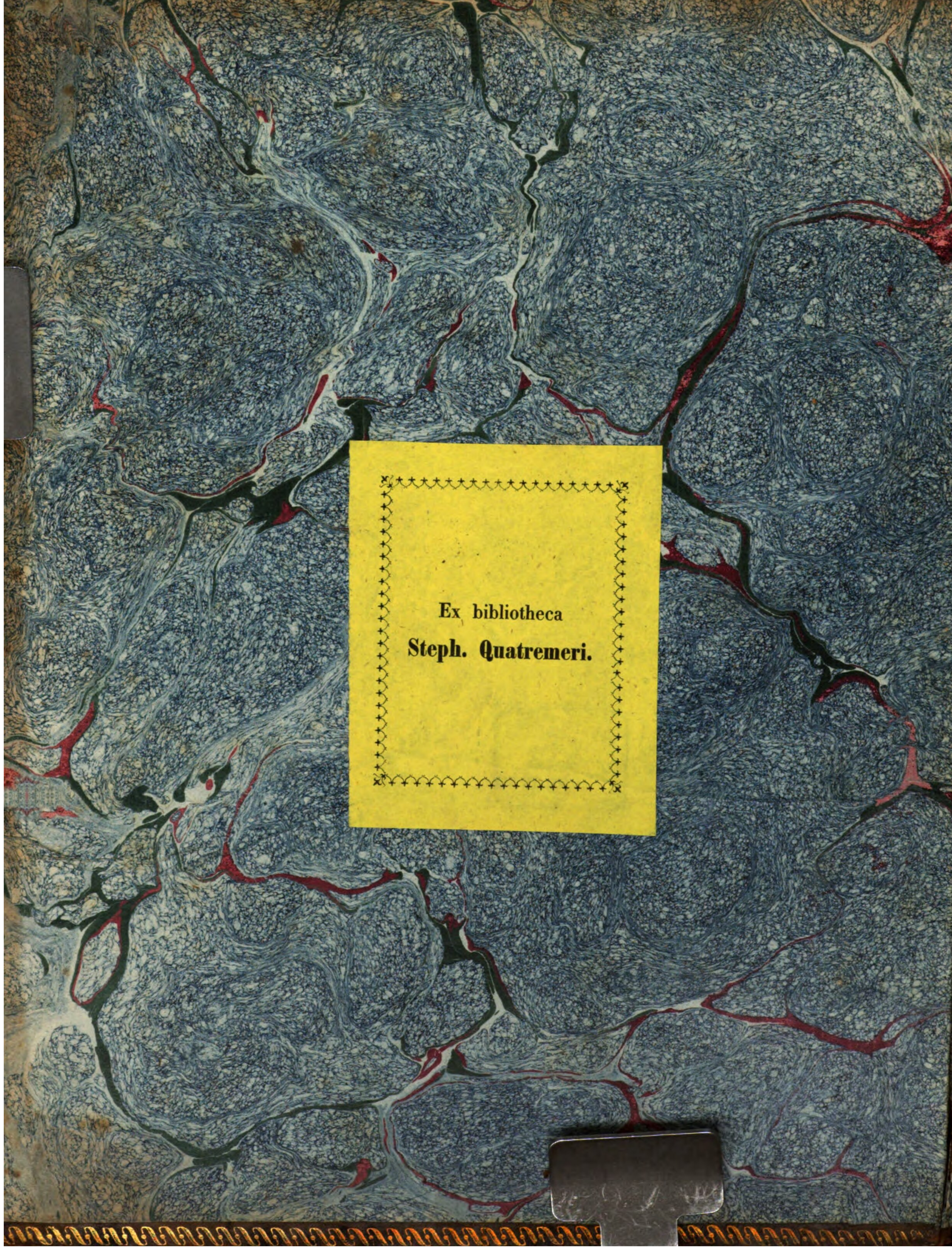
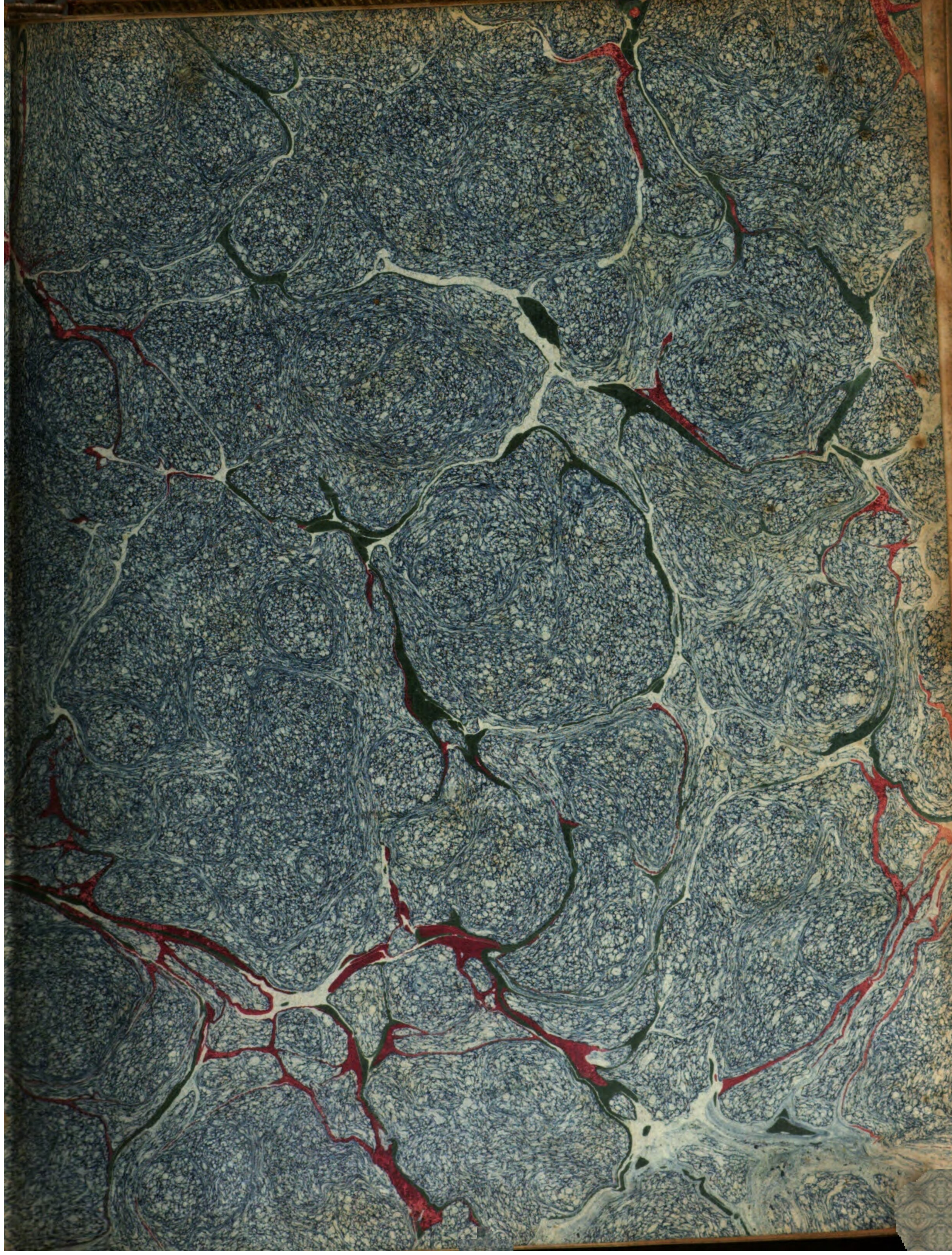






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CONCISE HISTORY
OF THE
MOORS IN SPAIN,

THEIR INVASION OF THAT KINGDOM

HISTORY

OF THE

MOORS IN SPAIN.

BY THOMAS DOUGLAS, ESQ.

LONDON.

PRINTED FOR J. G. AND A. RIVINGTON, 55 ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD.

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PREFACE.

FROM the title of the following Work, the Reader will perceive, that he is not to expect any thing like a circumstantial detail of the transactions of the Moors in Spain. My object in this concise history, is, merely to do common justice to this extraordinary people. To give such an insight into their laws, customs, manners and exploits as may raise them to just estimation by removing some part of the obloquy too often cast upon them by the Spanish Historians. This is attempting as much as our materials will warrant, the charts of this tract of history being mostly so vague and inaccurately laid down, as to come presented to us at best in "a shape extremely questionable." The Authors from whom we have them were either Arabs or Spaniards, and as the intentions of both are obviously to mislead, we are forced to commit ourselves to them with great caution, and literally to keep the line in hand to sound as we proceed.

ginally employed for the reduction of Spain consisted of Mauritanian recruits, but that Mauritania, after the conquest of this country, was the great magazine from which the armies of the invaders were replenished. The two nations readily coalesced when brought together, because they were in fact but tallies from one common stock and corresponded exactly in manners, customs, language, and proverbial sayings. Religion was the only point in which they differed, and this among the Moors having degenerated into the grossest superstition, rendered their principles at best very unsettled, and exposed to the assaults of any regular system that could be brought to bear upon them.

They had been left unmolested on this head by different invaders, none of whom, antecedent to the Arabs, made any attempts to enlighten them, and all of whom, if they had made any, would probably have failed for want of the master-key to their confidence. This key the Arabs brought with them in their doctrines, which were exactly adjusted to the genius and temper of their new subjects. Mahomet had been careful to gild over the pill which he intended for his disciples. As he borrowed the best and indeed only pure parts of his pre-

cepts from the Sacred Writings, they inculcated of course the soundest principles of morality. But lovely and admirable as these precepts were, they would probably have failed of effect, if they had not been qualified so far as to conform to the natural voluptuousness of the nation. Thus while he enjoined the practice of the sacred duties of justice, charity, and brotherly love, the remunerations held out for the observance of these duties were of a nature wholly sensual—luxuriant gardens abounding with fruits, flowers, springs, and beautiful women; in short with all those indulgences on which they were known to set the greatest value in this life, and of which they might be most supposed to covet the perpetuity hereafter.

It was by thus adapting his doctrines to the turn of his proselytes that the Musulman Lawgiver contrived to smooth his way, and establish the power of his successors not only in Arabia, but even other countries equally congenial, or which lay within the vortex of their ambition. If they were checked in one direction they turned aside and spread in another, the checks they occasionally encountered only serving to augment the force of their native impetuosity. Thus though they

attempted Sicily and even Rome ineffectually, they quickly overran the greater part of India, from whence taking an opposite direction, and spreading along the African coast of the Mediterranean, they got such a firm hold of Spain, as required eight centuries to compel them to relinquish.

Had the Musulmans been as dexterous in securing this valuable acquisition as they were active in making it, who can say what might have been the effect upon the general destiny of Europe? But a variety of causes conspired to shake their establishment in this country at the outset. They suffered a considerable body of the unsubdued Goths to escape and fix themselves in the Asturias, and by this oversight were continually exposed to the assaults of an active and vigilant enemy, who was quick in detecting their blunders and ever ready to turn them to account.

To this oversight of leaving an unsubdued enemy to strengthen himself unmolested, they added another which, though it did credit to their moderation, was not very commendable on the score of policy. By permitting the conquered to retain their laws and their religion, they con-

tinued them to a certain degree a distinct and separate people, and as they had all been more or less stript of their possessions, the points thus accorded only served to remind them more effectually of what had been taken away, and thus proved an incessant stimulus to discontent and future insurrections. The policy of the very people to whom they granted these indulgences might have taught them a better lesson, it being a rule with the Goths to have no other laws than their own in all the countries which they over-ran. *Nolumus, says the Gothic Code, sive Romanis sive alienis institutionibus amplius convexari.*

- But in addition to these oversights the Moors wanted that principle among themselves, which is the very key-stone of all power. In short they wanted union. Scarcely had they landed in Spain before Discord shook her torch among them, and factions sprung up like mushrooms. The Generals became jealous and mistrustful of each other, and instead of watching, as they ought to have done, every movement of an enemy whose wounds were green and smarting, and whose submission at best was very questionable; each was intent on devising expedients to thwart the plans of his rival, and under-

mine his credit by intrigues and misrepresentations at the court of Damascus.

These cabals, which tarnished the glory of the Generals, and militated against the interests of the Sovereign, were rendered still more mischievous, and fatal, by the number of petty governments into which Spain, under the new system, had been subdivided. Though these governments were subordinate to one Governor-general, yet his communication with the different dependencies was too slow and precarious, to enable him to extend his vigilance equally over all. His power of controul was therefore so far from being adequate to the purposes for which it was conferred, that it was often barely competent to curb even the ordinary irregularities of his deputies, who, while they squeezed and ground all those over whom they immediately presided, Moors and Christians alike, were almost always at deadly variance, and intent on tearing each other to pieces.

But notwithstanding these, and some other radical defects in their policy, it must be admitted to the credit of the Moors, that they not only retained their conquest for a far more exten-

sive term than either the Romans or Carthaginians, but that Spain under their auspices acquired a degree of splendour and prosperity far beyond any thing she could boast of antecedently, or even in the later periods of her history.

With the Carthaginians commerce was the great object of pursuit, but their commercial views were chiefly confined to the acquisition of the precious metals. They had all the vices of a commercial people without any of their virtues; their ruling principles were avarice and selfishness, and as long as these principles were gratified they were contented, and looked no further.

With the Romans, to whom Spain was abandoned after the second Punic war, commerce seems to have been an object of but secondary consideration. Their traffic, whatever it might be, originated in conquest, and was made subservient to their ambition. But while they drained the country of men to recruit their armies and money to pay them, they imparted many substantial benefits in return. They founded cities and universities, encouraged and diffused the sciences, and made many useful regulations which not only encreased the

comforts of the people, but tended materially to their civilization.

It is not necessary to follow minutely the progress of the Visigoths in Spain. Though Euric is generally called the founder of their monarchy; yet the credit of this establishment seems rather to be due to Leovigild, since it was not till his reign that the monarchy was compacted by the acquisition of Gallicia, and the greater part of Lusitania, which till then had remained under the government of the Suevi. Full ninety years elapsed, from the death of Euric, before this consolidation of the Gothic power was effected; consequently, reckoning from this period, the Gothic Monarchy, in its compact state, cannot be allowed a duration of more than one hundred and thirty eight years. But in this period many useful laws were enacted, and various parts of the kingdom considerably improved. Leovigild, we are told, established a royal treasury, and regulated the taxes which were tributary to it with much wisdom and policy. From the state of the country, in his time, we may suppose, that not only agriculture was much encouraged, but that commerce kept pace with it, since he was able to order the seizure and confiscation of seve-

ral vessels belonging to the Franks, upon the mere apprehension of a rupture with that people, a measure which he must have had a fleet to enable him to effect. Thus we find that the Gothic monarch thought himself perfectly justifiable in commencing aggressions upon an enemy without any previous declaration of war, and that, in doing this, he did no more than has since been happily imitated, and received the sanction of more modern practice.

Several of the laws of the Visigoths were extremely good, and do much credit to the councils by which they were enacted. By these, all persons who aspired to the crown without being of Gothic blood, and having the other requisite pretensions, were declared traitors and punished accordingly. The power of pardoning was vested in the crown; all grants made in recompence of services were secured; conspiracies against the state made punishable with confiscation and death; and in capital cases the confronting of evidence was expressly enjoined. These laws evidently bespeak some degree of refinement, and show that the Goths were not altogether such barbarians as different writers have endeavoured to represent them.

In religion they were Arians, and continued such till Ricard the Catholic, and his principal nobility, were brought to embrace the Orthodox Christian faith. An event which did not take place till one hundred and twenty-three years after the settlement of their countrymen in Spain. But the faith they then embraced was as near the primitive integrity as possible, and consequently untinged with those innovations which had been artfully insinuated into the Romish communion. This fact, indeed, the Spanish historians affect to disbelieve, but their motives are so notorious that they have never acquired any converts to their incredulity. It was only when the remains of the Goths were compelled by the invasion of the Moors to form a closer union with the See of Rome, that the doctrines and discipline of their Church changed and were corrupted. Then and not till then, those innovations crept in which gave the Church such dominion over the minds of the people; which the See of Rome, and its subaltern advocates, have since endeavoured to varnish over, or defend, every species of sophistry, prevarication and falsehood.

Hence, in spite of what bigotry may wish us to believe, it is evident, that the government of the Goths in Spain

was under no mean regulation either in church or state, and, that whether we contemplate their commercial or maritime, their judiciary or religious ordinances, they stand alike recommended to our consideration.

The policy of the Moors certainly far surpassed that of all their predecessors. They prudently preferred the wealth obtainable from the surface of the earth, to that more laboriously and painfully extorted from its bowels; and, as they were naturally sober and industrious, both agriculture and commerce prospered under their management. With the system of manuring and irrigation they were perfectly acquainted. They introduced the cotton tree, the sugar cane, and a variety of those excellent fruits with which Spain at this day abounds, which they cultivated with great skill, and brought to the greatest perfection. It is to them also that Spain is indebted for the silk-worm, which they introduced and taught the Spaniards to rear; and turning to such good account some of their works in this branch of manufacture are said to have rivalled even the best productions of India. To their skilful attention to these and other objects equally beneficial and profitable, no less than to the mildness of their laws,

we are to attribute the splendour of Cordova under their Caliphs, and the rapid advancement of that kingdom in wealth and population.

This splendid monarchy comprised Valencia, Murcia, Granada, Andalousia, Portugal, and all the best parts of New Castile, the whole commanding an extent of coast of upwards of seventy leagues. The soil was so fertile and productive as almost to anticipate the labours of the husbandman; and, by the variety of rivers and springs which circulated in all directions, the Moors, who were skilled in irrigation, were able to a certain extent to command the seasons, and so far ensure regular returns to their industry. Scarcely a single acre in their hands was suffered to remain inactive; and if we may be decided by the number of cities, towns, and villages with which the country was plentifully chequered, we may conclude that its population was not inferior to its culture. In Cordova alone the number of houses exceeded two hundred thousand, which, if we only allow six inhabitants to every house, gives a population of twelve hundred thousand souls, or nearly one third a greater number of inhabitants than London in our day is computed to contain.

Under the active industry of such a population, and with all the various advantages that Spain derived from soil, from climate, from her natural and factitious productions, and her numerous and convenient harbours, we must conclude that the revenues of the Caliphs were immense, and consequently be less astonished at the degree of splendour they were able to display. Exclusive of the product of the different mines, themselves a source of enormous wealth, their coffers must have been perpetually replenished from the teeming bosom of commerce. To what duties this source of revenue was subjected, or what taxes were imposed upon it, we are not at present able to ascertain. But, whatever the taxes might have been, as they were always cheerfully paid, they could have been neither galling nor invidiously oppressive, and the people probably submitted to them with readiness, because they saw and could appreciate the nature of the services for which they were required.

To a nation naturally ostentatious and fond of parade and show, it must have been extremely gratifying to see the sums exacted from industry applied to purposes at once both splendid and beneficial. To see cities founded,

colleges and hospitals endowed, mosques and palaces constructed, and the liberal hand of the sovereign extended to patronize the arts and remunerate all useful and scientific excellences. In these, and such like expenditures the people are always more or less disposed to claim to themselves a kind of interest. Extravagance in such cases, if money thus expended can be called extravagance, is an excess which they are induced to favour because the benefits redound to themselves, and the trophies proudly raised by it are contemplated with pleasure, being regarded as so many short-hand accounts of public expenditures ;—accounts far more clear, more accurate and intelligible than any to be met with in the very complicated ledgers of receivers general or collectors !

With the revenues of the Kings of Grenada we are not better acquainted than with those of the Caliphs. But, if we had no other authority to go by, from the view of their taxes that are handed down to us, we know, that their government was a despotism, and a despotism in which the satellites of power were to the full as dextrous in devising the ways and means, as any more modern financiers, who, without intending it, may have clumsily conformed to their practices. They

had their stamp duties, and their duties upon all sales and transfers of property, and even upon legacies; a species of tax which subjects the individual to a penalty for no other offence but because merit or accident renders him more fortunate than his neighbour; a tax which mocks the intentions of the venerable dead, and contrary to every principle of equity or humanity levels all distinctions of persons, to subject alike the needy and the affluent to one indiscriminate standard of exaction!

But what is still more deserving of notice, the monarch claimed a seventh part of the annual returns of lands, herds and flocks, or, in other words, exacted a complete income tax. It must be owned, however, to the honour of the Moorish financier, that this tax, hard and oppressive as it always is, carried with it one reasonable modification. It did not grind the rich and poor indiscriminately; and, as it fell only upon those who possessed property that was obvious and easy to ascertain, it galled neither the merchant nor trader by exposing him to disclosures at once both painful and humiliating, and subjecting his credit to be fly-blown at the pleasure of authorized inspectors. But, with this modification, the taxes in Grenada were at best

extremely oppressive, and occasioned frequent and very alarming discontents.

The government of the Caliphs on the contrary, where no discontents from these causes prevailed, was a limited monarchy in which the laws were regulated by the principles of the Alcoran. They were equally binding upon the sovereign as the subject, and being few and simple, such as every one could easily comprehend. Hence there was no necessity for the employing of authorized pleaders! The parties pleaded for themselves; their pleadings were concise and clear. No chicanery was suffered, no useless delays were connived at, nor ruinous expences incurred. The plaintiff in law or equity was always sure of compensation where his claims were well founded, and might assert them without the risk of drawing a load of black-letter lumber on his head, or being ruined by a decision with costs in his favour!

Nor was the criminal code more complex than the civil: capital punishments were rarely inflicted, justice preferring always requitals and compensations to corporal penalties. Even murder could be compounded for with the consent of

kindred ; and, though the power of husbands over their wives, and parents over their children, was absolute and exorbitant, yet it should seem that this power was rarely ever abused.

The Moorish jurisprudence, by being thus grafted upon the stock of their religious code, not only tended to simplify all legal processes, but was extremely useful in the ordinary intercourses of life. For as every Musulman was expected to be well instructed in the sacred tenets of his faith, and indeed to have the greater part of the Alcoran by heart, his memory was a portable abridgment of law, and he was frequently enabled, by a seasonable and apt citation of it, to act upon the fears of an aggressor, and restrain or correct injustice at the outset. Of this we have a striking proof in the following little anecdote. A poor woman, whose house had been pillaged by the soldiery, threw herself at the feet of the Caliph as he marched at the head of his army, stating her complaint and demanding satisfaction : “ Hast thou not,” says he to the complainant, “ read in the Coran, that when the armies of princes are on “ march they plunder and destroy the places through which “ they are obliged to pass?” “ True,” replied the woman, “ but I have also read in the same sacred book, that, for

“ these acts of violence and injustice, the houses of princes
“ shall in their turns be destroyed.” It is needless to say
what was the effect of this able rejoinder. The Caliph’s bat-
tery was so completely turned upon himself, that he was glad
to compound for the transgression, ordering instant com-
pensation to be made to the complainant.

Under their Caliphs the Cordovians were certainly both a
happy and an enlightened people. They were happy because
they enjoyed the beneficent protection of mild and equal laws,
and they became extremely enlightened by the liberal patronage
afforded to the sciences. Under the Abdelzamins Moorish
Spain might be called the very cradle of the arts, and it is not
a little remarkable that learning flourished in this kingdom,
when its lights were overlaid and almost extinguished in all
the Christian kingdoms of Europe. There were at one pe-
riod no fewer than seventy public libraries in the different
Musulman cities, and Cordova alone boasted of upwards of
one hundred and fifty authors, independent of others that were
dispersed through Murcia, Valencia, and Grenada, and other
districts. In medicine, botany, mathematics, astronomy, and
astrology they could boast of many first rate masters, but they

were particularly attached to and excelled in music and poetry. Indeed these sister arts had a very absolute influence over the Moors in general : their airs were soft, tender, and impressive, and the poetry excellent, the people being not less attentive to the sense and harmony of the versification, than to the sounds by which it was assisted and set off. How could it be otherwise where the poetic rage was so generally disseminated, that Caliphs themselves were composers, and among the most eager candidates for poetic fame and distinction !

It is to be lamented (and this leads me to glance at the triumphant adversary before whom these magic scenes have vanished) that so few of the works in the various branches of science, in which they unquestionably excelled, have been reserved to our days. But, after the fall of Grenada, the Spaniards were vindictively hostile to Moorish literature, and what even the soldiers spared, the priesthood confederated to destroy.

The trumpet for this rude assault was first sounded by Ximenes, the celebrated cordelier and cardinal. When he ordered all the copies of the Alcoran to be destroyed, and

committed this order to be executed by a barbarous and illiterate soldiery, he signed the death-warrant of Moorish literature. As the military casuists to whom he committed the execution of this cruel edict, could neither read nor write, all the books that came in their way were considered as copies of the Alcoran, and committed indiscriminately to the flames.

But what was spared or escaped in this general proscription, it became afterwards not only criminal to read but to be known to possess, and that this avenue to information might be completely barred up, it was committed to the provident guardianship of the Inquisition. By this institution, learning has been placed in Spain under the ban of proscription, and, with it, the happiest energies of the Spaniards have gradually subsided and died away.

It is not with science only that the Inquisition has warred. Its efforts have been directed with equal attention and vigilance against morals, against justice, and against common sense. It is hardly necessary to adduce proofs upon a point so well ascertained; but as I have touched upon the subject,

I cannot help dilating a little upon the abuses of an institution, which has at all times warred with all the best interests of mankind, though by the bounty of Providence it is now most happily subverted.

In the year 1696 an investigation into the abuses of this institution having taken place, conformably to an order of Charles the Second, issued immediately after attending an Auto da Fé, the following strong report was made to the King.

“ In all parts of your Majesty’s dominions in which this tribunal has been established,” says Don Juan de Ledesma, the reporter, “ it has always strenuously laboured to augment its own powers at the expence of every other jurisdiction, as if particularly intent on leaving nothing to the royal justice or to those charged with its administration. There is no subject, however foreign to the principles of the Institution, upon which the Inquisitors do not take upon them to decide, usurping and exercising this power even upon occasions the most trivial. Every individual, however independent of their authority, is treated as an abject vassal, being subjected not only to their orders, but to their severest

“ penalties and persecutions ;—to imprisonment, tortures,
“ death and infamy!

“ Nor are these penalties confined only to extraordinary of-
“ fences. The most trifling slight, the most inadvertent, unin-
“ tentional neglect shewn to any of its menial servants is
“ deemed an offence against the holy brotherhood, and punished
“ accordingly. Nor does the mischief end here : the Inquisi-
“ tors not only attach extraordinary privileges to themselves
“ and their own houses, but they extend them to the houses of
“ their dependants and servants, by which these are converted
“ into so many asylums for criminals, who have only to fly
“ thither to be effectually screened from justice. And it is
“ further notorious, that, whenever your majesty’s judges com-
“ mence even the most ordinary processes against offenders of
“ this description, the Inquisition never fails to screen them
“ under its extensive wings, and to thunder out the heaviest
“ denunciations against those whose duty it is to pursue and
“ bring them to justice.”

In the above report a variety of facts is stated to shew the
abuses committed by this body, and the necessity there was

for fixing some bounds to its usurpations. But, notwithstanding these statements from the council, the Inquisition was still suffered to range at large and riot in the abuse of its undefined and unlimited powers. But this very enquiry proves the enormous extent of the powers which they claimed and exercised, since the sovereign, as we see, did not dare to proceed, though the enquiry itself shews how much he wished it. This tribunal was, in fact, as formidable to the monarch as to the meanest of his subjects, and so confident in its own strength as to set both equally at defiance, considering it a matter of total indifference against what orders in the state its attacks were directed. Of this we have an instance in the treatment of Don Melchior de Macænas, once minister plenipotentiary from his Catholic Majesty at the court of Breda.

This gentleman was charged with no other crime than having endeavoured to ascertain the limits of the Papal authority, to prevent it from trenching upon the just prerogatives of the King his master; an undertaking to which, as he was a profound canonist, he was no doubt fully competent. This how-

ever, was a sin too heinous to be passed over, and accordingly it awakened not only the wrath of the holy See against him, but of its other cerberean head also, the holy Inquisition. He was exposed to a ten years persecution, and forced during the whole of this term, to continue an exile on the confines of his country, soliciting relief in vain at the hands of the very sovereign whose prerogatives he had endeavoured to maintain and to whose cause he was consequently a martyr. Mercy indeed was at last extended to him; but it was extended when the pith and marrow of the present was exhausted, for it was not till completely worn down with age, with persecution, and various other afflictions, that he was suffered to return, literally to die in his native city!

But it was not against loyalty only that the wrath of the Inquisition was kindled. It warred equally with science and with all her favoured and privileged disciples, as we find so recently as at the Auto da Fé of the year 1778, when the justly celebrated Olavidé narrowly escaped being numbered among its victims. No less a person was employed for his arrestation than the count de Mora, a grandee of Spain, who having thought it no

degradation to accept the office of Alguazil major, or first serjeant of this tribunal, conceived himself perfectly in character in becoming an instrument in its unworthy practices.

But what was the charge against Olavidé? Was it murder? No. Was it felony? No. Was it any overt-act of treason; or any treasonable practices? or what would have been still worse, was it any direct attack upon morals or religion? "None, none of these." The charges alledged against him were, "that he had said, that many of the Roman emperors were far better entitled to be dubbed saints than many of the kings to whom that sacred appellation had been given." That, while at Paris, he had associated with Rousseau; and further that he had kept up a correspondence with Voltaire, one of whose letters contained downright blasphemy, the author having had the audacity to style saint Augustine a poor man, and to assert that father Lombard, saint Thomas, and Bonaventure had laboured, by their scholastic subtleties, to forge shackles for the human mind.

Such were the assigned reasons for this celebrated persecution! But there was another, which though kept back, was

supposed to have had its due share of weight. Olavidé being appointed superintendent of a colony then recently settled in the Sierra Morena, and which under his superintendency bid fair to be very beneficial to the state, had prohibited in his district the customary collection for prayers for the dead. As a prohibition of this nature assailed the Church in a very vulnerable part, by cutting off one source for the supply of its parade and ostentation, it is but reasonable to suppose that the insult was felt and resented accordingly, though no symptoms of the kind were manifested.

The charges however which I have specified were deemed sufficient without any aid from this collateral aggravation. Upon these charges Olavidé was declared an obstinate incurable heretic; all his goods were confiscated, he was exiled from court and from his native city, and sentenced to eight years close confinement with an injunction to confess himself monthly during this term. But, what was infinitely more intolerable than all these penalties, he was confined to the reading of two most stupid books, one by Louis of Grenada, and the other, its twin brother in dulness and stupidity, by father Sapphieri! *Risum teneatis?*

To this sentence the proscribed Olavidé, though a knight of Alcantara, was forced to submit, and even to attend the procession of the Auto da Fé in the habits of his order, and to carry a green torch. He had reason to rejoice that he escaped so well, and that, without any foolish or mistaken lenity on the part of his judges, the roasting part of the sentence was remitted. For this he was beholden to the sagacity of the then Pope, who being consulted by the Holy Brotherhood, very prudently whispered, that the season for such rehearsals was passed, and it was then a day too late to repeat them.

Hence we see it was no fault of the Brotherhood that their provident corrective was not fully administered, which it would have been beyond doubt, if the holy Father had pronounced the fatal fiat; and all because two men of letters corresponded, and one of these asserted what the other could not deny, that father Lombard, saint Thomas, and Bonaventure were enemies to liberal and enlightened knowledge, and that saint Augustin was a poor man!

It was so lately as the year 1778, that the persecution of M. Olavidé took place. But what shall we say to other pro-

ceedings equally inimical to taste and science, and still more recent? What must we think of a tribunal which proscribed the celebrated History of the Abbé Raynal, branding those with the appellation of traitors, both to God and man, who circulated, or even dared to read, this truly ingenious performance? Permission indeed for a partial publication of the work was finally obtained, but what was then published was an abridgment rather than a translation, and the duke de Almodovar, by whom it was given, forced to deliver it shorn of all its brightest beams, of its philosophical and profoundest reflections, because they were found to clash too much with the sordid pursuits of despotism and superstition.

To the same cause we must impute the failure of the projected translation of the French Encyclopædia. This work, under the article Spain, necessarily contained strictures which were thought to reflect too freely upon the Spanish government and its bloody coadjutor. The wrath of the Holy Office was immediately rekindled; the perusal of the work prohibited even to such subscribers as had already obtained their copies, and, "to make assurance double sure," all the impressions in the hands of the agent were seized, and suppressed, to the

great disappointment of a long list of subscribers, *with the grand Inquisitor at their head.*

But did our countryman, Dr. Robertson, receive better measure at their hands? It is well known that when his history of America was published, the members of the Spanish academy were so delighted with his moderation in treating of the cruelties of their countrymen in the New World, that they wished to give him the most honourable proofs of approbation and esteem. They not only appointed one of their own members to translate the work into Spanish, that it might be put into general circulation, but admitted the author a member of the academy, and commissioned no less a person than count Campomanes to notify this honour to him, and accompany it with their acknowledgments. “In the two first volumes of your work,” says this gentleman in his letter to the author, “you give an order and connection so natural between ancient and modern history, that I know few men capable of doing it with so much success. I have read the first book with a degree of pleasure and admiration it is impossible for me to express.” So wrote the learned scribe of the Academy!—Government, or the Inquisitors, however, thought differently.

The letter alluded to was written in the latter end of 1777, and within fifteen months after—the very work which *had excited so much admiration* among the Spanish literati; which was thus calculated *to connect ancient and modern history*, was formally proscribed. But, what is still more unaccountable, while the custom-house officers were ordered to prevent its admission into the kingdom in any language whatever, the Academy of History was required to appoint two of its members to criticise and confute it. In this very order we may trace the source from whence it issued, since it is perfectly in character for those who are habituated to condemn upon *ex parte* evidence, to commit themselves to *ex parte* criticism for their justification.

Such are a few traits of the celebrated Inquisition! Of a tribunal, to the mercy of which the most beautiful kingdom in the world was delivered up, after the expulsion of the Moors. Unfortunately for the Spaniards, the policy of Ferdinand and his immediate successors went hand in hand with the mistaken policy of the monastic orders. Both alike concurred in maturing and letting loose upon the world a monster far more deformed, far more frightful than “Gorgons, Hydras, and Chimeras dire.”

Both were alike bent on effecting impossibilities, and in their vain attempt to bring mankind to one opinion, and to introduce jointly religious and civil slavery, have entailed maladies upon their unhappy country, in ransacking even palliatives for which all the arts of their more enlightened successors have been exerted in vain.

Such has been the lot of a kingdom, which nature seems to have intended as her master-piece; on which she exhausted all her choicest treasures!—treasures which the hand of bigotry has rendered useless! Under the scourge of persecution the sciences and the arts have been frightened, and fled from Spain in fearful haste; commerce has dwindled, industry become extinct, genius cramped and distorted, and all the noblest energies of a people naturally haughty, brave and enterprising, are completely chained down and paralyzed.

The Reader is requested to correct the undermentioned Errata.

Where the Name printed Abdelzamin occurs, as in p. 40, &c. read Abdelramin : and in page 123, 4th line from bottom, for counterpart, read reverse.

[Bourke's History of the Moors in Spain.]

BOOK THE FIRST

HISTORY, &c.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

BOOK THE FIRST.



FROM THE CONQUESTS OF THE ARABS,
TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OMMIADÆAN
CALIPHS AT CORDOVA:

COMPRIZING FROM THE END OF THE
SIXTH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE
EIGHTH CENTURY.



CHAPTER THE FIRST

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FROM THE CONQUESTS OF THE ARABS
TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OMAYYAD
CALIPHATE AT CORDOVA;
BEGINNING FROM THE END OF THE
SIXTH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE
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The history of the Arab conquests in the West is a subject of great interest and importance. It is a subject which has attracted the attention of many of the most distinguished historians of the world. The conquests of the Arabs were one of the most important events in the history of the world, and they have had a profound influence on the course of human events. The conquests of the Arabs were a great triumph for the Islamic faith, and they were a great triumph for the Arab people. The conquests of the Arabs were a great triumph for the Islamic faith, and they were a great triumph for the Arab people. The conquests of the Arabs were a great triumph for the Islamic faith, and they were a great triumph for the Arab people.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

CHARACTER OF THE ARABS.—MAHOMET AND HIS DOCTRINES AND SUCCESSES.

THAT extensive district of Africa, to which the Romans gave the name of Mauritania, is bounded on the east by Egypt, by the Mediterranean on the north, by the Atlantic ocean on the west, and on the south by the deserts of Barbary. From this vast tract issued those swarms of Moors, who in conjunction with the Arabs conquered Spain. The origin of the Moors, like that of most other nations, is enveloped in obscurity and fable. But as we read of a Mulic Yafic who emigrated to this part of Africa, bringing with him a considerable colony of Sabæans; it is not improbable that the Moors deduce their descent from these Sabæans, and that this great continent received its name from the founder of this colony.

We shall find this conjecture much strengthened, if we advert to the close resemblance which has been always perceptible in the manners and customs of the two nations.

The inhabitants of both countries have been always classed in tribes, always addicted to a wandering life, and in short they resemble each other so much in all other respects, that what has been said of one will be found strictly applicable to the other ;—That God has given them four distinguishing characteristics : “ Turbans for diadems, tents instead of houses and walls, swords instead of intrenchments, and poems or fables to supply the place of written laws.”

Such were the people who were destined, under the influence of the Arabs, to hold the descendants of the Goths in awe for more than seven centuries, and during that period to maintain their footing in one of the richest, as it is by nature* formed to be one of the most powerful kingdoms in the world. What more strongly corroborates the affinity between the Moors and Arabs, than this sudden change in conduct, in exertion, in intellect and in improvements? Antecedent to the arrival of the Arabs the inhabitants of Mauritania had been destined to wear the chains of many successive invaders. Their country was first subdued by the Carthaginians, then by the Romans, then by the Vandals, and after these by Belisarius. Under all these different masters the Moors remained in a state of contemptible insignificance, yet how reversed the scene when the Arabs appeared among

* See Note (A) at the end of Book I.

them? The very people who had hitherto only suffered and submitted; who had been satisfied with seconding the enterprises of successive masters without aspiring to participate in their spoils or glory;—This people becomes instantly active and invigorated, bursts from its state of torpor and insensibility, and soars upon the wing to gallant and splendid exertion.

To account for these changes we must advert to the Arabs who effected them, and take a cursory survey of the doctrines and conquests of Mahomet, and his successors, before they came in contact with the Moors.

The Arabs are not only the most ancient people of our earth, but perhaps the only people who have retained their independency and original cast of character. From the remotest antiquity we find them divided into tribes, which either wandered at large, or were united in communities under warrior chiefs or magistrates; and it has been their singular glory never to have received the yoke of any foreign invader. Though their subjugation was attempted by Persians, Macedonians and Romans successively, they all attempted it in vain, the arms of all alike rebounding harmlessly from the rocks of the Nabathæans! Proud of his patriarchal origin, of having thus defended, and nobly perpetuated his indepen-

dency, the Arab, from the recesses of his deserts, looks down contemptuously on other nations, considering them as little better than so many herds of cattle collected together by chance, and abjectly dependent on masters perpetually changing. He is by nature brave, sober and indefatigable, and, being enured from infancy to hardships, fears neither hunger, nor thirst, nor pains, nor death.

Such were the people on whom Mahomet was destined to practise. When the Impostor presented himself, he found the different tribes surrounded by Jews, Christians and Idolators; but preserving, notwithstanding their neighbourhood to these opposite sects, their own respective systems of faith and worship. They were sunk in ignorance and superstition, believing in Demons, Genii, and witchcraft. In short they sacrificed to Idols and worshipped the Stars.

Among persons of this stamp it is not at all surprizing that the Impostor found a ready reception, or that he easily recommended himself to them as a preternatural character and a prophet. He had studied the nation well upon whose feelings he proposed to operate, and had the policy to fashion his doctrines exactly to their genius and dispositions. And these doctrines were set off to the highest advantage, not more by the personal graces of the preacher, and the charms

of his elocution (transcendent as these certainly were) than by the purity and beauty of some of their best precepts.*

“ There is,” says the pretended Prophet, “ but one God,
“ whose greatest and best attribute is mercy; who from his
“ pure and perfect possession of this attribute is justly to
“ be styled the All-merciful. To this God all praise and
“ adoration are due, and him we are therefore bound exclu-
“ sively to worship.

“ Be kind to the poor, the captive, the fatherless and the
“ unprotected; and be just to all men, for justice is the
“ sister of piety. If you conform to these precepts, but,
“ above all, if you practise charity, the amplest remunera-
“ tions will await you in heaven. There the good are trans-
“ ported into spacious and luxuriant gardens, watered by
“ pure and never-failing springs, and decorated with trees and
“ flowers of the greatest fragrancy and beauty. Such will be
“ the residence of the blessed; and to complete their blessings
“ they will enjoy in this retreat the society of wives whose
“ charms can know no decay, and whose love will be as per-
“ manent and unalterable as their charms.”

“ But to secure these blessings,” adds the Impostor, “ you
“ must contend manfully against incredulity, and the ob-

* Note (B).

“ stinacy and prejudices of impiety, till you force those with
“ whom you contend, either to embrace the true faith, or com-
“ pound by tribute for their obduracy. Every adventurer
“ in this glorious work will stand particularly recommended
“ to the mercies of the Almighty. Let not then the appre-
“ hension of hardships, of dangers, or even death, divert you
“ from this just track. But if, which I can scarcely believe,
“ there should be any one who prefers life to the discharge of
“ this sacred duty, let him reflect, that human existence is
“ at best precarious and limited at the very commencement:
“ that the days of all are numbered, and that, at the appointed
“ hour, the angel of death will single out his destined victim,
“ and carry him off in defiance of all precautions.”

These and similar precepts were conveyed in language both figurative and glowing, and being embellished by the charms of poetry, and enforced by a consummate orator, with all the graces of delivery, and the assumed confidence of inspiration, were fully calculated to command proselytes in any age or nation. What fruits then were not to be expected from them among a people of all others the most enthusiastic and prone to the marvellous? The effects were every where answerable to the cause. Such sparks could not be scattered among materials so combustible without quickly producing an overpowering flame. Accordingly the number of converts augmented rapidly, and it is probable the new doctrines would have circulated through

Arabia, without the aid of persecution. But persecution, as is usual in such cases, came in to lend her finishing hand to the work ; when the prophet was driven from Meccha, and forced to shelter himself at Medina, his flight may be said to have stamped the seal of authenticity on his pretended mission ; since it is from this period, we date the proud Epocha of Musulman glory, equally with the commencement of the Musulman chronology.

After this revulsion, Islamism* spread like a torrent over Arabia and Ethiopia, resisting all impediments, and bearing down all opposition. The Jews indeed attempted, with the aid of some of the idolatrous nations, to stem its current ; but they attempted it in vain ; and it was equally in vain that Meccha sent forth her armies against the destroyer of her gods. These armies were either vanquished or dispersed in succession, the cities they were sent to defend falling regularly into the hands of the conqueror. But, in the midst of his successes, the Impostor never forgot his great precept of mercy ; for, where he vanquished, he generally was careful to spare ; by which seasonable policy, he secured opinion, and augmented the number of his proselytes.

Such is a summary of the achievements of Mahomet, whose

* Note (C).

hopes were arrested by a premature death, while intent on extending his conquests with a view to the extension of his doctrines! This extraordinary man, for such he may justly be called, was taken off by poison in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and ninth of his glory, to the great regret of the Arabs, who tore their hair, rolled themselves in the dust, and acted all the other extravagances which are customary on such occasions among that warm and enthusiastic nation*.

* Note (D).

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

FURTHER PROGRESS OF THE MUSULMAN ARMS UNDER THE SUCCESSORS OF MAHOMET.

THE death of the Impostor neither retarded the progress of his doctrines, nor checked the rapidity of the Arabian conquests: the machinery continuing to work, though the power from which it had received its impulse no longer existed. Abou Bekir, his father in law, was called to the succession, in preference both to Omar and Ali. Under this Caliph the Arabian armies, conducted by the renowned Kaled*, penetrated into Syria, and having routed the troops of Heraclius, became masters of Damascus.

Omar, who succeeded Abou Bekir, extended the conquests of his predecessor still further. He compelled Heraclius to fly from Antioch, possessed himself of Jerusalem, reduced all Palestine and Syria, and in short caused all Asia to tremble at

* Note (E).

the prowess of his invincible squadrons. The modest Omar bore this tide of good fortune with exemplary moderation and humility, attributing no share in it to his own valour, or abilities, but wholly to the bounty of preternatural interposition. And to this, at least, he may be said to have furnished a kind of claim by his own conduct and example. By these he taught his army to preserve their austere and frugal manners, and their strict and provident discipline, and thus to shew themselves paramount to all the allurements of one of the richest and most fascinating countries in the world. The effects of discipline were particularly visible at Jerusalem. During the sack of this city, the soldiers, who are not always very governable at such seasons, were under such strict subordination, that many who had secured considerable booty which they were hastening to appropriate to themselves, were seen, at a single sign from their officers, to trace back their steps contentedly, and deliver their spoils to be deposited in the public treasury. Nor was this principle of subordination confined exclusively to the privates in the army. It pervaded all orders of the service, and was as conspicuous in the highest class of officers as among the subalterns and in the ranks. Even the highest generals, men inheriting the pride of kings, were so scrupulously attentive to the calls of duty, that, when the service required it, they were seen cheerfully to wave the privileges of their high stations, and volunteer the duties of the ordinary soldiery.

This conduct of the army is not to be wondered at, when we advert to the character of their leader, who was himself the most perfect model of simplicity and moderation. Omar, though one of the richest, and certainly the most powerful monarch of Asia, was rigidly averse to all approaches to parade or ostentation. When he made his public entrance into Jerusalem, he rode upon a camel with his sack of rice on one side and his leathern bottle of water on the other. In this simple style he passed through the vanquished people, who prostrated themselves on all sides as he passed, to supplicate his blessing and to refer their differences to his arbitration. Instead of congratulating his army upon the blood that had been shed, upon the value of their plunder, or any of the other equally delusive and inauspicious glories of conquest, he harangued them simply upon the virtues of moderation and true magnanimity, and while this harangue was warm upon their minds, he gave a lively exemplification of his precepts by pardoning the Christians and protecting their churches.

This good Caliph shortened his stay in Jerusalem because he knew it to be the wish of his people that he should return to Medina. He quitted the city with the same simplicity with which he entered it.

From Asia the arms of the faithful were next directed to Egypt, where the conquest of Alexandria was achieved by

the celebrated Amrou, one of the greatest generals of his day. It was at this period the famous library of the Ptolemies was destroyed, the loss of which has occasioned such lasting regret to all the lovers of literature. It is rather singular that the destruction of this valuable treasure was committed to one who knew so well to appreciate its value, Amrou being himself not only a poet and philosopher, but a professed patron of learning and the arts. We are told he would have spared this library, to the solicitations of his friend John the Grammarian, whom he loved and respected, but that his orders were positive, and from these there could be no appeal. It is not unlikely also that the wishes of the army coincided in this instance with these orders, the Arabs being always too partial to their own writings to set any great value upon the works of other nations.

But while Amrou was thus forced to make war on science, he distinguished himself by a work which would not have discredited Rome in the meridian of her glory. It was under his direction that the celebrated canal was formed which joined the Red Sea to the Mediterranean; and we are told, that this work, so useful to Egypt, so beneficial to the commerce of Europe and Asia, was completed in the course of a very few months.

While Amrou thus distinguished himself in Egypt, other

Arabian captains had crossed the Euphrates for the reduction of Persia. In the midst of their various successes Omar died, and was succeeded in the Caliphate by Othman, in whose reign the conquests of the Arabs in Africa were completed, with the exception of some slight resistance they still experienced from the Bereberes.* This nation of simple shepherds, who, even in our day, contrive to preserve a kind of independency, defended themselves both long and bravely against the invaders of their country. At length, however, they were subdued by the Musulman general Akba, who advanced, flushed with his success, to the westernmost coast of Africa, where his career was only checked by the insurmountable barrier of the Atlantic. But even this impediment could scarcely bridle the impetuosity of the gallant Arab. Actuated by the joint impulses of chivalry and religious enthusiasm, he is said to have spurred his horse some distance into the sea, exclaiming, "God of Mahomet, do you behold this impediment? But for this, and this only, I had sought out other nations to bow to thy worship and illumine with thy truths." Alexander, under a similar disappointment, solaced himself with weeping.

Though the Moors, antecedent to this period, had been alternately subdued by the Carthaginians, the Romans and the Vandals, their subjugation was still but partial, and they claimed

* Note (F)

but a feeble interest in the concerns of their different masters. Their whole ambition centered in their flocks. Though the taxes which they paid were levied arbitrarily, and they were exposed to successive oppressions under successive governors, they still made frequent and very spirited resistance to their oppressors, endeavouring from time to time to shake off their shackles, and betaking themselves after every ineffectual attempt to the recesses of their deserts. Their religion was a compound of Christianity and idolatry; their manners those of vanquished slaves, coarse, clumsy, and contemptible, as the manners of the mere creatures of despotism are invariably. In short it is highly probable they resembled their descendants of our day under the iron sceptre of their present remorseless and barbarous tyrants!

Yet this people, against whom all attempts at complete subjugation had hitherto proved abortive, underwent almost a total transmutation when they came in contact with the Arabs. A change which we shall find accounted for by circumstances. Being descended from one common stock, they spoke the same language and were swayed by the same passions: considerations which of themselves must have been sufficient to recommend their conquerors most powerfully to them. But in addition to these considerations there were others equally weighty and perhaps even more powerful. The annunciation of a new religion by one whom they

regarded as the direct descendant of their common progenitor; and the rapidity and splendour of the Mussulman conquests, by which they had already secured the most fertile districts of Asia and Africa, and which held out the encouraging assurance of still more splendid and valuable acquisitions. These various inducements, all separately dazzling and overpowering, conspired to awaken their dormant energies. And they accordingly not only embraced the new dogmas with zeal, but entered warmly into all the views of their Musulman brethren, under whose banners they crowded to enroll themselves, and stood forth at once amongst the most strenuous champions for Islamism and glory!

This ardour on the part of the Moors, which may be said to have doubled the energies of the two nations, experienced indeed a slight interruption in the revolt of the Bereberes, who, as we have remarked, had always cherished a predilection for independency. But the then Caliph Valid quickly surmounted all their scruples by sending Moussar Ben Hasan to reason with them at the head of one hundred thousand troops, and we may easily suppose, that a legate armed with such credentials could have no difficulty in accomplishing his mission.

Moussar had no sooner quelled this insurrection and tranquillized Mauritania, than he was tempted to add a new lustre

to his arms by seizing upon Tangiers, at that time in possession of the Spanish Goths. The facility with which he made this acquisition induced him shortly after to aim at others of still higher importance; and, as he was at the head of a victorious army to whom war was become a kind of necessary recreation, he began for the first time to cherish the project of invading Spain. A project in which, as we shall find in the sequel, he was too fatally assisted by the Spaniards themselves.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

OF SPAIN, AND THE INVASION OF THAT KINGDOM BY THE MOORS.

THE beautiful kingdom, which now attracted the notice of the Musulman general, had experienced an uncommon variety of changes and reverses. It had been invaded by the Carthaginians and Romans successively, but was abandoned by the former of these powers at the end of the second Punic war. From this period, the Romans had possession of the whole peninsula excepting Biscay and the mountains of the Asturias; and Spain, under these conquerors, became civilized, and as celebrated for her cities and artists, as she had been for her wealth and battles, in the times of the Carthaginians.

The Romans held the country for a period of about six hundred years, when they were dispossessed by the Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi, all known under the general appellation of Goths. The different provinces had been divided between these three nations, and continued so till towards the

close of the sixth century, when Euric, one of the Gothic princes, united them under one sceptre, and transmitted them in this state to his descendents. But these descendents did not long retain the virtues to which their ancestors had been indebted for these valuable possessions. The mildness of the climate, and the fertility and wealth of the soil, had enervated both their minds, and the minds of the people, and introduced vices, to which, in the progressive advancement of their power, they had been utter strangers. All history is but a painful recapitulation of these deplorable consequences of rapid and redundant prosperity.

The dominions of the Goths, comprised not only the country, which lay between the Pyrennees and the sea, but extended also into Africa and Gaul ; in the former of which they possessed the coasts of Ceuta and Tangiers, and in the latter, still remained masters of Languedoc, though Theodoric had wrested Provence from them, and Clovis Aquitaine.

The successors of Euric, who may be called the founder of this Gothic monarchy, were, at one time Catholics ; Arians at another. The princes of both persuasions, however, appear to have committed themselves equally to the intemperate government of bigotted priests and bishops, and their reigns were consequently reigns of perpetual intrigues and disquietudes. Roderic, the last king of this race, sullied the throne by his

vices ; and these vices, unhappily for his people, too quickly brought with them their own correctives.

The ruin of this monarch, who like his predecessors was kept in leading strings by his clergy, was hastened by the machinations of two of the most powerful lords of his court; his kinsman, Count Julian, and Oppas, Archbishop of Toledo. The latter of these seems to have had no other object than his own aggrandisement in view. But the former was actuated solely by motives of revenge, in the pursuit of which he was so blinded as to have totally overlooked, or set all consequences at defiance. The provocation he had received, was, it must be owned, of the blackest die, and such as a man of proud honour could not be expected to brook. Julian in short was governor of Ceuta, and while absent at his government, his criminal master had availed himself of his absence to offer the last indignity to his virtuous daughter.

The unfortunate lady, though educated in a court, and that a most corrupt one, had not, it seems, been contaminated by its vices so far, as to think that royalty could sanction crimes, or confer dignity on prostitution. "Would to God," says she, in the letter she addressed to her father, "that the earth had swallowed me up, rather than it should fall to my lot to bring sorrow upon your grey hairs, and render you miserable for ever. You may see the state of my mind from the tears

“ which are falling upon this paper, so fast as to make my
“ writing scarcely legible. But the fatal secret must not re-
“ main unrevealed. Know then, my unhappy father, that
“ your daughter, your dear and only daughter, who has your
“ blood, and the blood of our kings in her veins, has suffered
“ the last criminal violence from their unworthy successor. If
“ you suffer our wrongs to pass unrevenged, it will be a blot
“ upon our house for ever.”

This fatal communication was made to Count Julian about the time that Moussar had pushed his conquests as far as the Atlantic, and he determined instantly to take exemplary vengeance on the aggressor, without regarding the ruin he was about to entail on his country. Having obtained an interview with the Musulman general, he had no scruple to represent to him, that it was now in the power of the Arabs to add Spain to their other acquisitions, assuring him at the same time, that the Spaniards were so disgusted with the tyranny and vices of Roderic, that they would readily throw themselves into the arms of the first power that stepped forward to their relief. He further gave him to understand, that he himself had experienced the most flagrant injustice from the tyrant, for which he was determined to have exemplary vengeance. That in this just undertaking he had no doubt of the concurrence and support of all honourable and good men; but particularly of the general, whom he then addressed, who had

it now in his power, while he righted an injured people, to add fresh laurels to the many he had so recently acquired.

This offer was too splendid to be rejected; and Tarik, an officer of distinguished talents, was dispatched* accordingly into Spain, where he got possession of Gibraltar without any difficulty. After the taking of this important post various skirmishes took place between the Moors and Christians, which almost invariably terminated in favour of the former. In consequence of these early successes, backed by the intrigues of Count Julian and the apostate Archbishop, the Moors spread themselves rapidly over Andalusia and Estremadura, laying waste all the country in their course, and destroying such towns as they were unable to retain.

In the midst of these excesses Tarik was informed, that the Gothic monarch was advancing against him at the head of a powerful army, to make one decisive effort for the recovery of his kingdom. As this intelligence perfectly coincided with the wishes of the Moorish general, the two armies found themselves soon in sight of each other, and ready to begin that battle which proved so fatal to the Spanish monarchy, and, for some centuries, to the cause of Christianity. Historians are not decided as to the year in which this celebrated battle was

* Note (H).

fought. But the scene of action was a plain near Xeres on the frontiers, watered by the Guadaletta. In this position, when the armies were drawn out, Roderic is said to have addressed his soldiers to the following effect :

“ I congratulate you, my brave people, on the opening now
“ given of avenging our country and our religion, for the in-
“ dignities offered to both, by a band of rebels, without honor
“ or principle, and barbarians without remorse. Why per-
“ sons of this description have confederated against us it is
“ scarcely necessary to explain. Their end is clearly to
“ overturn our altars, to confiscate property, and subject us to
“ the same ignominious yoke they have imposed upon other
“ Christian states. You may read what you have to expect
“ in the ruins of those cities which treason has put into their
“ hands, in the subversion of law, of order, and all those in-
“ stitutions which have been hitherto held sacred among men.
“ Let us but be true to our country, and we shall this day
“ retort the aggressions of these barbarians upon themselves,
“ and convince the world, that the descendents of the Goths,
“ in defiance of the machinations of unprincipled traitors,
“ will vindicate the honor of their nation, and are not to
“ be subdued with the facility of dastardly Africans, or
“ effeminate Asiatics.

“ As far as rests with myself, I have left nothing undone to

“ ensure you success. You see before you such an army as
“ this vast plain can scarcely hold, and this army committed to
“ the ablest generals. The rest depends upon yourselves.
“ Be mindful of your own glory, and the glories of your brave
“ ancestors, both of which are now staked upon the issue
“ of this battle, and, above all, never for an instant forget
“ that you are Goths and Christians!”

While Roderic was delivering this harangue, Tarik is said not to have been idle on his part. After adverting to the past exploits of his army, and reminding them of the promises of the Prophet to those who fought for the faith, he added :

“ Your situation is such, at this instant, that you must
“ either conquer or perish ; and, for my own part, I am deter-
“ mined upon victory or death ; for, if we do not obtain the
“ mastery of this rich kingdom, I will lay myself and my dis-
“ graces in this field.

“ But we cannot fail of success. What obstacles can the
“ enemy oppose to our career? An enemy whose defence is
“ committed to a multitude of dastards, assembled in haste,
“ and equally destitute of discipline and courage, as of skill
“ and experience. Why need I say more? Your looks are to
“ me already the presage of victory. They assure me that
“ God and his Prophet are fighting for us, and that we shall

“ this day exchange our barren African deserts, for the fertile
“ and beautiful country which lies before you.”

Scarcely were these harangues ended, when the trumpets of the Goths and the cymbals of the Moors gave the signal for battle, and the foremost squadrons of both armies rushed with equal impetuosity to the charge. The conflict was some time severe and doubtful ; for, though the Gothic army was principally composed of new levies, it still contained some veterans who were able to present a steady and undaunted front to their impetuous enemies ; and Roderic, their leader, was not inferior to his adversary either in skill, courage or activity. He presented himself in every part of the battle, and, wherever he appeared, his men were animated and invigorated by his presence, and there is reason to believe his efforts would have been ultimately successful, if they had not been counteracted by treason. Historians have never ascertained the fate of the unfortunate monarch after his defeat. But as his horse, and the royal garments, were found at the side of the river, it is probable he was drowned in attempting to ford it. The loss of the Goths in this action must have been immense, as that of the victorious army is said to have exceeded sixteen thousand men.

We hear no more of Count Julian after this action, at least nothing that can be confided in. Some writers pretend that

he ended his life in a dungeon, and that his wife and son were precipitated from a tower in Ceuta. This may probably be true, at least it is not improbable, that both he and his family had a premature end, and that they were dispatched out of the way when their services were no longer required. *Tarik was too good a statesman not to make sure of traitors who had contributed with so little scruple and remorse, to the death of their sovereign, and the ruin of their country.*

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

FURTHER PROGRESS OF THE MOORS IN SPAIN.

AFTER the important and decisive battle of Xeres, Tarik, to accelerate his conquests, marched one division of his army on Cordova, and directed the other to proceed by Malaga towards Grenada. One of these divisions surprized and took Toledo, the gates of which were supposed to have been betrayed to them by the treachery of the Jews. The inhabitants, however, obtained a kind of capitulation, by which they secured both their churches and their possessions, subject to such trifling tributes as they had been accustomed to pay.

When Toledo capitulated, few of the neighbouring cities made any shew of resistance. The greater part were immediately seized by the Moors; and those which were not, were only passed over for the moment by the policy of the general, who was afraid of weakening his army by attempting to garrison too many places at once.

But the cities which Tarik thus passed over were shortly after visited by Moussar; who, becoming jealous of the successes of his lieutenant, had crossed into Spain with a second army of twelve thousand men, with which he possessed himself of several strong places which Tarik had been obliged to neglect, and laid regular siege to others that prepared to resist his arms. Among these cities, Merida is not unworthy notice, being then the most beautiful as well as one of the richest cities in that part of Spain which the Romans distinguished by the appellation of Lusitania. This city even in our times preserves some traces of its ancient beauty and splendour. But when Moussar first beheld it, he was lost in admiration, and could not help exclaiming, that "to found such a city, " and bring it to its then state of perfection, must have required the joint labours of the world." Such a prize could not be easily relinquished; and the Moorish general accordingly commenced the siege in form.

Although the inhabitants of Merida were much reduced in numbers by the fatal battle of Xeres, yet those who remained did not hesitate to march out against their assailants; and though fortune did not second their exertions, yet every praise was certainly due to their valour. They hazarded many sorties, and were unsuccessful in all. But this did not deter them from attempting others, and their efforts were only baffled at last by famine.

Moussar, on reconnoitring the ground, had discovered a quarry close under the walls, of sufficient extent to admit a considerable body of troops; and he took his measures accordingly, not doubting but the besieged, from the courage they had already displayed, would hazard still other sorties. To bring them quickly into his trammels, he had no sooner ambushed his men than he affected to direct his attacks against the part of the city near which they were posted. The inhabitants, who mistook this feint for a real attack, fell completely into the snare. They marched out to attack the enemy in view, without any suspicion of those which were concealed, and thus they found themselves assailed on all sides. But such was their courage, that they contrived, though not without great loss, to make good their retreat, by cutting a passage through the thickest of the enemy's squadrons. But the city was forced at last by famine to capitulate, and upon terms sufficiently severe. Those of the inhabitants that survived the siege were suffered to retain their possessions; but the properties of such as had perished in the different sorties, together with the treasures and revenues of their churches, were confiscated to the use of the captors.

After the surrender of Merida, Abdelozis the son of Moussar obtained from his father the command of a small reinforcement of African troops, which had recently arrived in Spain, and took possession of Valencia. Toledo had revolted, but

the two generals having united their forces proceeded against this city, and recovered it again without much resistance, and, from this time, almost the whole of Spain was subjected to the Musulman power.

It is but just to remark in this place, that though the Moors have been stigmatized as barbarians by the different Christian historians; though they have been branded as a people whose only object was to enrich themselves by plundering at the expence of any crimes, or excesses, yet they generally suffered the conquered nations to retain both their religion and laws, and thus in reality gave proofs of moderation and lenity which we find rarely imitated, but never excelled, by their Christian conquerors. They seldom exacted from the Spaniards other tributes than they had been accustomed to pay their kings, and even admitted many of the conquered cities to compound for their privileges. These facts, while they exempt them from the imputations of cruelty which have been vented against them, in the phrenzy of bigotry, ought surely to be admitted in proof of the malevolence of the Spanish writers. Have we not besides a further refutation of these charges in the marriage of Egilone, a Christian princess, with the Moor Abdelozis the son of Moussar, and in the appellation of Musarabians assumed by the Christians of Toledo?

Shortly after the period of which we have been treating,

Moussar was recalled, and succeeded by his son Abdelozis, who resided at Seville as governor general of Spain. Tarik, the hero of these important successes, was left simply in command of the army at Cordova, with orders to tranquillize such districts as still remained refractory. These lay principally in the Asturias, whither many of the Gothic chiefs had retired, confiding in the impregnability of their position, and determined to maintain their independency to the last.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

OF THE SPANIARDS IN THE ASTURIES.—DON PELAGIO.—
DON ALPHONSO.

AFTER the fatal battle of Xeres, two Gothic princes had withdrawn into the Asturias, associating to their fortunes such of their friends and dependents as they could rally, in hopes of securing an asylum for liberty, amid the fastnesses of those mountains. Pelagio, duke of Cantabria, the elder, and first of these princes, was nearly related to the unfortunate Roderic; but, though thus highly exalted by rank and alliance, he appears to have possessed a far better claim to pre-eminence and distinction, in his own virtues, than any that could be grounded on the adventitious title of birth. His aspect was dignified and warlike, and his courage heroic, and he was further particularly famed for bodily strength and activity. He had the justest notions of religion, of the precepts of which he was a rigid observer; to which he joined a fund

of knowledge, derived from its three great sources, of books, experience, and observation, which he had a talent of communicating that was at once eloquent, graceful and commanding.

Though it had been Pelagio's fate to pass the greater part of his life in a most corrupt and abandoned court, he was totally untainted by any of its vices. In fact he was so decided an enemy to luxury under every form, that he was thought to have carried his dislike of it too far, particularly in the article of dress, his open contempt of which gave him an appearance of intending indirectly to reflect on those whose fopperies he disdained to imitate. Yet in spite of this contempt of exterior ornament, and the hatred it actually excited, it was remarked that wherever he appeared he far eclipsed the courtly circle with which he was forced to mingle; who, while they were jealous of his virtues, could not help contemplating them with awe and admiration. Such was the chief restorer of the Spanish monarchy!

Alphonso, the coadjutor in this Herculean labour, was neither so old nor so experienced as his friend, but not inferior to him in virtues, birth, or talents. In short, the two heroes seemed to have been formed for each other, and for the crisis at which they shone forth; there being no greater disproportion in their

respective excellences than was requisite to produce that just subordination, or deference of one to the other, upon the observance of which their mutual preservation depended. Alphonso, equally with his friend, had signalized himself by his talents no less than his courage, of which he had given such frequent proofs as had raised him to highest estimation; his countrymen receiving what he had done as a kind of earnest of what might be expected from him in future. To cement the union of the two friends still more closely, Alphonso had married Ermesinde, the daughter of Don Pelagio, a princess no less exalted by her virtues than her beauty, and every way worthy such a father and such a husband.

The views of the two heroes extended at first, no farther than to the maintenance of their religion and their independency; which after some conflicts with the Moors, they at length effected, a treaty being concluded by which the princes subjected themselves to a stipulated tribute, and the Moors engaged to leave them unmolested.

This arrangement was satisfactory for the moment to both parties;—to the Spaniards, because it held out hopes of further advantages without exciting the jealousy of their enemies. And to the Moors, because it brought an adversary, whom they despaired of reducing by force, into a nominal depen-

dency, and gave them so far the appearance and the credit of having conquered all Spain. But the calm expected from this treaty was of no duration, being quickly interrupted by the restlessness of the different Moorish governors in the neighbourhood of the Asturias. Pelagio, who was not of a temper to be insulted with impunity, sought instant satisfaction on these aggressors. And, his first efforts proving successful, produced recruits to him on all sides, but particularly from Cantabria and Gallicia, by whose assistance he was able to make head against his enemies, and even to extend his infant territories. Leon, Gyon and Astorga were among his earliest acquisitions, and the examples of these cities being gradually followed by others, the gallant champion of his country received at length the well-earned reward of his patriotism, and, with general acclamation, was proclaimed king of Leon.

This sudden change in the fortunes of the Gothic prince, was principally to be attributed to the impatience of the Moors to extend their conquests into Gaul. Alahors, who had succeeded Abdelozis in Spain, expected, by an attack on Gothic Gaul, to deprive the Asturian Spaniards of all assistance from their countrymen, and by his successes on one side of the Pyrennees, to reduce all the Gothic fortresses on the other. But before he could execute this project, he was superseded in the government by Elzemagh, who, though possessed of

far greater abilities than his predecessor, unfortunately for himself was sucked into the fatal vortex of his policy.

The new governor, as is pretty usual on such occasions, began his administration by exposing past malversations, and reforming various abuses which had crept in under his predecessors. Among other reforms he regulated the taxes, which had hitherto been levied arbitrarily, and assigned the soldiery a regular and ample pay. Next to the reform of abuses, the attention of Elzemagh was directed to the arts, of which he had ever been the avowed patron, and which he was anxious to attract to Cordova, then become the seat of government. He embellished this city, encouraged the resort of learned men, and artists of every description to it, and even contributed to nourish the sciences by his own labours. He composed a work descriptive of Spain; of its cities, provinces, ports, and rivers; of its marbles, metals, mines and minerals; in short of every particular product of that kingdom, which could in any degree promote useful knowledge, or administer to the comforts and conveniences of life.

But while he was intent on these and similar objects of equal utility, he seems to have too much overlooked or neglected others of no less importance, and which were indeed requisite to substantiate his other labours and render them

permanently beneficial. He made too light of his Gothic adversary, neither attempting to harass him in his retreat, nor to purchase his forbearance by the more salutary policy of conciliation and favour. Instead of recurring to either of these expedients, he was so intent upon the project of extending his fame in France, that he passed over the Spanish chieftain entirely.

If Elzemagh was not ultimately more successful in his pursuits than those who preceded him, we must admit, that he was, for a time at least, more fortunate. He penetrated so far into Gaul as to take the Gothic capital Narbonne, and to get possession of the whole of Languedoc, except Tholouse, which was then protected by the duke of Aquitaine. But here his career terminated. The attack of this city was his ruin. He had to oppose a general not easily taken by surprize, and he hazarded a battle in which he was slain. His army, deprived by this accident of their leader, had no alternative but to retire into one of the newly acquired cities, in which he had had the precaution to place a garrison; and there to remain upon the defensive, till they could obtain another general and a competent reinforcement.

Many governors succeeded Elzemagh, whose adminis-

trations are little worth recording. Their quick succession however proved highly serviceable to the king of Leon; as it gave him leisure to regulate the police of his new kingdom, and to recruit and discipline his armies, and thus to consolidate a power which in the end was destined to contend successfully against the enemies of Christianity, and restrict them once more to their unproductive deserts.

CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

OF EUDES, DUKE OF AQUITAINE.—MANUSE.—ABDELZAMIN.

ALTHOUGH the views of all the Moorish governors were alike directed towards France, yet this kingdom seems to have particularly engrossed the attention of the gallant and enterprising Abdelzamin, who on his arrival in Spain found a new scene presented to him, which threatened most important changes. This kingdom, though subjected to one governor general, had been parcelled out into a number of subordinate governments. Among these the provinces of Catalonia and Languedoc had been committed to a Moor of the name of Manuse, who had formed a close intimacy with his Christian neighbour the Duke of Aquitaine, at that time in possession of Tholouse. There was an exact resemblance between the two friends in temper, character and situation. They were both violent, both possessed of unbounded ambition, both impatient of controul, and both disaffected to their respective sovereigns.

Historians are not agreed as to the manner in which Eudes became Duke of Aquitaine ; some asserting, that he succeeded to the dukedom in right of his wife ; others, that he obtained this honor from the people ; who, availing themselves of the troubles prevailing in France under the kings of the first race, had usurped the right of election in violation of the prerogative of their lawful sovereigns.

The Duke governed his estates, however acquired, with great prudence ; and, by valor not inferior to his prudence, had even contrived to augment them. He was extremely respected by the Moors for his gallant defence of Tholouse ; but his whole aim was to become a sovereign independent prince, and he knew so well how to turn the then prevailing distractions in France to his own profit, that he had actually prevailed with the party opposed to Charles Martel to treat with him upon terms of the most perfect equality. This farce however, could not be played for any time ; and the arms of Charles having borne down all opposition, the Duke was glad to temporize and return to his former dependency.

This unexpected blow, and the wars in which he had been necessarily engaged with the Moors, had acted as a restraint upon his ambition, till it was again awakened by the appointment of Manuse to the government of Languedoc ; an event

which seemed to hold out to him a new opening for realizing all his former projects.

Manuse, on the other hand, was not less impatient of the sovereignty of the Caliphs. Deeming the provinces under his command of sufficient extent to form a considerable independent state, he was bent upon their establishment as such, and with this view had contrived to secure to his interests all the subordinate officers in his department. With aims so similar on both sides, a peace was easily effected between the Moor and the Duke of Aquitaine, both parties being aware, that, from the nature of their pursuits, they must expect to be involved in other wars, in which they would stand in need of mutual assistance.

The two chiefs had long visited on terms of the closest intimacy, and had had ample leisure to mature their plans. But to cement their union still closer, Eudes had given his daughter Numerance in marriage to the Moor, greatly to the astonishment of even his own countrymen. Manuse had no one quality that ought to have recommended him to such an alliance. He was not only of very obscure origin, but uncommonly ugly, and as disgusting in manners as in person. In addition to this he was a Musulman, and one of the most bigotted of his cast. He was indeed notorious for his cruelties to the Christians, in the practice of which he had sentenced a bishop to the flames,

and perpetrated many other enormities all equally flagrant and revolting. The princess, on the other hand, was a Christian;—she was in the bloom of youth;—of surpassing beauty, and one of the most accomplished women of her age; from all which we may infer what must have been her aversion to this preposterous match!

It was unfortunate for Manuse that this unaccountable marriage took place just at the period of Abdelzamin's arrival in Spain. This sagacious statesman soon penetrated the mystery. Having detected the treasons of the sub-governor, he determined to nip them in the bud, and executed his plans with such celerity, that the traitor was surprised before he could rally his friends or put himself in any posture of defence*. Still however he made good his retreat into the mountains, from whence it is supposed he might have effected his escape, if the princess would have consented to accompany him. This she inflexibly refused, and as he could not bring himself to separate from her, he was taken, while in the act of pressing her consent, and precipitated from a rock. Numerance became the prize of of Abdelzamin; who, though himself not insensible to the charms of beauty, presented her to the Caliph Haccham, whose love she afterwards acquired. Thus, by a strange reverse, occasioned by the inordinate ambition of an

* Note (I).

unfeeling father, a Christian Gascon princess was destined to grace the seraglio of Damascus!

* Abdelzamin having thus dispatched Manuse, determined to make some part of his vengeance alight upon the duke of Aquitaine. Accordingly he penetrated as far as Arles, and forced this prince to a battle, in which he was defeated and narrowly escaped being taken. This victory alarmed all France; nothing now seemed capable of opposing the career of the victorious Musulman, who marched towards Bourdeaux, marking his progress by the destruction of all the churches that lay in his way, and by various other acts of wanton and cruel barbarity. In this extremity, Eudes was forced to solicit assistance from Charles Martel, which, however, he had not the patience to await, for, having rallied and augmented his forces, he hazarded a second battle, and experienced a second defeat.

After this victory, Abdelzamin begun to aspire at the conquest of all Gaul. He ravaged Perigord, Poitou and Xaintonge, and penetrated into Touraine as far as Tours, near which city he came in sight of the French army with Charles Martel at its head. The whole of this army, though united with the troops of Burgundy and Austrasia, did not exceed

* Note (K).

fifty thousand men, while that of the Moors is said to have amounted to four hundred thousand.

The fate of two armies under such leaders could not remain long undecided. A desperate battle ensued, in which the Moors were defeated and Abdelzamin slain. Their loss in and after this action has been estimated at three hundred thousand men. The number must no doubt be exaggerated, but it must certainly have been very considerable, since as they had penetrated very far into France, they had not only to encounter the various detachments sent to cut off their retreat, but also the vengeance of the people through whose countries they were forced to fly. Whatever their loss may have been, it is certain that this memorable battle, of which history gives no regular detail, rescued France from the fangs of the Musulmans, and fixed a barrier to their further aggrandisement. They indeed made some feeble attempts upon this kingdom afterwards, and even proceeded once as far as Avignon, but they were again opposed by their invincible adversary, and pursued beyond Catalonia, being forced to abandon this province to the victors.

Spain, after the death of Abdelzamin, was distracted by the dissensions of two governors to whom the Caliph had delegated his authority jointly. In the midst of these distractions, almost always inseparable from a joint delegation of power, a

third pretender to the government arrived from Africa ; and finally a fourth put in his claim. Hence factions were multiplied, and the contending parties recurred invariably to arms, in the conflicts incidental to which, chiefs were murdered, cities sacked, and whole provinces completely desolated. There can be nothing very interesting, certainly nothing pleasing, in the details of such enormities so differently related by historians. It may not however be irrelevant to remark that, in proportion as the manners of the Moors in Spain began to be civilized and polished by intercourse with the Spaniards, and by mixture of blood, fresh inundations of Africans kept regularly pouring in, as if expressly to counteract improvement, and force them back to their characteristic ferocity.

The troubles of this kingdom were at length quieted by a governor of the name of Ebn Joseph, who had nearly established himself at Cordova, when a most unexpected and important change took place in the east, which had a particular influence on the fate of Spain. As it is at this point we fix the commencement of the Moorish empire in this peninsula, it will be adviseable before we proceed on this subject, to advert cursorily to the history of the Caliphs.

APPENDIX

TO THE

FIRST BOOK.

NOTE (A), *one of the richest, &c.*

WHEN the Phœnicians first visited Spain, that country abounded in the precious metals. Silver in particular was so abundant, that their commonest utensils, and even the racks and mangers of their stables were made with it. The new guests quickly contrived to come in for their full share. They bartered every thing they could in exchange, and, that they might have nothing to accuse themselves of afterwards, caused the very kitchen utensils which they required for the voyage, to be made of silver.

NOTE (B), *the purity and beauty, &c.*

It is worthy remark how much the founder of the Musulman sect is beholden to the Sacred Writings for the best, and indeed the only pure passages in the Alcoran; his precept of the Unity of the Godhead being taken from the decalogue, and

the divine attributes of charity and justice from the doctrines of our Saviour.

“ Charge them,” says St. Paul, “ who are rich in this world, that they be ready to give, and glad to distribute, laying up for themselves a good foundation against the life to come, that they may attain eternal life.”

“ The sovereign judge,” says the Mahometan law-giver, “ will fasten at the last day an immense serpent on him who has done no charity, the sting of which shall pierce incessantly that hand which never was open to the calls of the poor.”

Again, “ the best attribute of God,” says Mahomet, “ is mercy. He is justly stiled, All Merciful.”

“ Peter said unto Jesus, Lord, how often shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? till seven times? I say not unto thee till seven times,” says our Saviour, “ but till seventy times seven.”

“ Be just to all men,” says Mahomet.

“ Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s,” says our Saviour.

I cannot dismiss this topic without submitting to the reader a most impressive and eloquent extract from one of bishop Sherlock’s sermons, in which the reverend preacher contrasts

the life and doctrines of the Impostor, with those of our blessed Saviour. "Go," says Sherlock, "to your natural religion. Lay before her Mahomet and his disciples arrayed in armour and blood, riding in triumph over the spoils of thousands who fell by his victorious sword. Shew her the cities which he set in flames, the countries which he ravaged and destroyed, and the miserable distress of all the inhabitants of the earth. When she has viewed him in this scene, carry her into his retirement. Shew her the Prophet's chamber, his concubines and his wives, and let her hear him alledge revelation as a divine commission to justify his adultery and his lust."

"When she is tired with the Prophet, shew her the blessed Jesus, humble and meek, doing good to all the sons of men. Let her see him in his most retired privacies. Let her follow him to the Mount, and hear his doctrines and his supplications to God. Carry her to his table, and view his poor fare, and hear his heavenly discourse. Let her attend him to the tribunal, and consider the patience with which he endured the scoffs and reproaches of his enemies. Lead her to his cross. Let her view him in the agonies of death, and hear his last prayer for his unworthy persecutors, *Forgive them, for they know not what they do*. When natural religion has thus viewed both, ask her, which is the Prophet of God? But her answer we have had already, when she saw part of this scene through the eyes of the centurion, who attended him at the cross. By him she spake, and said, *Truly this was the Son of God.*"

NOTE (C). *Islamism spread, &c*

THE word Islamism is derived from "eslam," signifying consecration or dedication to God. In the Alcoran Mahomet never speaks. It is always the angel Gabriel who expresses the divine will. The Prophet only listens and repeats. The angel is careful to enter into details, not merely concerning religion, but legislation and policy also, for which reason the Alcoran must be regarded as a code of civil and politic as well as religious law. One half of the book is in verse, the other in poetic prose. Mahomet was himself a poet; and poetry was so highly esteemed among the Arabs, that the people of Meccha used to assemble at certain periods to determine the merits of different compositions, which their respective authors were accustomed to affix to the walls of the temple of Caaba. Here the author of the most approved performance was crowned with the greatest solemnity. When Mahomet attached the second book of the Alcoran to those walls, Labid Ebn Kabia, till then esteemed the most celebrated poet of his country, tore down a work which he himself had placed there, and confessed himself excelled by the Prophet.

NOTE (D), *that warm and enthusiastic nation.*

MAHOMET was not the monster of cruelty that some authors represent him. Where he vanquished, he was generally merciful; and he has been known frequently to pardon even personal injuries. Caab, the son of Zoar, had been one of his

most inveterate enemies, insomuch that he was proscribed and a price put upon his head. Yet this very Caab dared one day to enter abruptly into the mosque at Medina, while Mahomet was preaching, and to recite some of his own verses in praise of the Prophet. Mahomet was so transported with the performance, ("Oh! proud distinction of the sacred lyre!") that he sprang in raptures from his seat, and tore off his own mantle and placed it on the shoulders of the poet. This robe was afterwards purchased from Caab's family, by one of the Caliphs, for twenty thousand drachmas, and converted into a state garment for the sovereigns of Persia, which they never wore but upon the most solemn occasions.

From Mahomet's latter moments, we are justified in concluding he was not naturally cruel. On the evening preceding his death, he went to the mosque, supported on the arms of his faithful Ali, and, having ascended the tribunal, and made a short prayer, addressed the people to the following effect.

"My faithful children, you see me here on the verge of the grave. No one has now reason to fear me more. If I have ever struck any of you, behold me here ready to receive the blows of him I have thus offended. If I have taken the property of any one forcibly from him; here is my purse. Let the person thus injured indemnify himself. If I have wantonly humbled any one, let him now come forward and humble me. I deliver myself wholly to your justice."

During this speech, the Temple resounded with broken accents of affliction. One man only came forward to avail himself

of the declaration of the dying Prophet, and his demand, which did not exceed three drachmas, was directed by Mahomet to be paid with interest.

After this affecting scene, the Prophet bid a tender farewell to his faithful Medineze, and having liberated his slaves, directed the order of his funeral with the greatest composure. Although he supported his character of Prophet to the last, declaring, even in his latter agonies, that he was conferring with the angel Gabriel, he was not the less mindful of his worldly attachments, of his beloved wife Aixa, of his daughter Fatima, of Ali, of Omar, and in short all his dearest friends and disciples.

The poison which shortened his life, had been administered in some roasted lamb, by a Jewess named Ainab, to revenge the death of her brother. The deed was discovered at the instant; for Mahomet upon swallowing the first mouthful declared that he was poisoned. Yet, notwithstanding this immediate discovery, and the antidotes that were as immediately administered, such was the subtle virulence of the poison that all applications proved ineffectual.

The respect and veneration of the eastern nations for Mahomet know no bounds. Their doctors maintain that the world was made for him. That the first created thing was light, and that this light became his soul. Some maintain the Koran to be increate; others hold a contrary opinion. Hence those swarms of sects and commentators, and those wars of religion, which have so often deluged Asia with blood!

NOTE (E). *The renowned Kaled, &c.*

THE military exploits of this general, as related by historians, who are considered as authentic, resemble those of some fictitious hero of romance. He was at first the declared enemy of Mahomet, whom he vanquished at Aked, the only battle the Prophet ever lost. He became afterwards a zealous Musulman. He reduced such nations as attempted to revolt after the death of Mahomet, defeated the armies of Heraclius, conquered Syria and Palestine, and a considerable portion of Persia, and came off always triumphant from a multiplicity of single combats, which he himself used always to propose to enemies of any renown.

The following trait will give some idea of his character. During the siege of Bostra, the Greek governor Romanos, wishing to betray the city, affected to make a sortie, but as soon as he had ranged his troops in order of battle, instead of commencing the action he demanded a conference with Kaled. The two generals having accordingly advanced into the space between the armies, the Greek gave his adversary to understand that it was his wish, not only to deliver up the place, but to embrace the faith, provided his life would be insured from the soldiery, by whom he was both hated and suspected. He therefore requested to be put in the way of executing his treason without endangering himself. "Nothing more easy," replied Kaled, "the best thing you can do, will be to fight with me instantly, as this will put your courage beyond all doubt, and acquire you respect through the whole

“ army.” Saying this he unsheathed his sword, and without waiting any reply, made a furious charge upon the poor governor, who defended himself with a trembling hand, exclaiming at every cut he received, “ Hold, hold, enough, “ zounds, do you intend to kill me?” “ No, no, by no “ means,” replies Kaled, (at the same time that he laid on his blows still thicker) “ I wish only to acquire you glory and “ esteem. The more wounds you receive, the more of both “ you will necessarily have.” To conclude, he did not quit his truant antagonist till he had covered him with gashes, leaving him wherewith to remind him of his treason and cowardice as long as he lived. Some time after this, meeting with his old friend, “ Well, old boy,” says he, “ and how dost find thy- “ self now?”

NOTE (F) *from the Bereberes, &c.*

THE Bereberes were the inhabitants of the part of Africa now called Barbary. Though they have been confounded with the primitive Numidians, they are regarded, with much reason, as the descendents of those Arabs, that accompanied Mulic Yafric. Their language differed from that of the surrounding nations, and it is, in the opinion of Mr. Chenier, a corruption of the Punic. However this may be, this nation exists at this day in the kingdom of Morocco. They live in tribes, out of which they never ally themselves, and lead a wandering life. Though they are subject to the Emperor of Morocco, they submit to his authority only at pleasure and as they find it convenient. They are still formidable by their

numbers and courage, still retain their original manners, and their characteristic love of independency.

NOTE (G). *no sooner quelled this insurrection, &c.*

MUÇA or Moussar Ben Hazen was of an enterprising genius, and equally capable of planning as of conducting grand projects. He was possessed of heroic courage, and understood perfectly the art of war. But he was violent and cruel in the extreme, making war like a barbarian without any respect to the calls of humanity.

NOTE (H). *an officer of distinguished, &c.*

TARIK distinguished himself greatly in the wars of Africa. The Arabian historians tell us that the night after his embarkation for Spain, he had an extraordinary dream, in which he saw Mahomet and his companions, with their cuirasses on, and their heads cased in shining steel. That Mahomet said to him, in a voice like thunder, "March on, Tarik, to assured conquest. Victory attends thy steps. Be true to the faith, and treat thy brothers with kindness." Saying this, the Prophet and his company appeared to take the road to Andalusia.

Whether this extravagant dream was the effect of a heated imagination, or of policy, or ambition, we cannot determine. It is certain Tarik lost no time in imparting it, and that those

to whom he addressed himself did not fail to interpret it favourably, and to announce it as a sure pledge of future victory.

NOTE (I). *of defence, &c.*

THE pretext Manuse employed to gain over partizans, was that the people were oppressed by the exactions of their judges. He could not have touched upon a more tender string, nothing being more offensive to the Arabs than the corrupt administration of justice. His intrigues took deep root, and the discontents they produced gave a momentary shock to the government, which excited alarms even at the court of Damascus.

NOTE (K). *share of his vengeance.*

ABDELZAMIN's vengeance, says Mezeray, was levelled at Charles Martel jointly with the Duke of Aquitaine. He set on foot two large armies, one of which was intended to enter Burgundy; the other to act in Aquitaine. The first of these crossed the Rhone, but meeting no enemies capable of facing it, it divided into two distinct corps, one of which entered Avignon, where it was defeated, though not before it had surprised some strong cities and fortresses. The other passed the Saone, and penetrated as far as Navarre. In all the districts through which these two divisions passed they burnt and destroyed all that came in their way, all the churches, monas-

teries, and houses of distinction, besides a considerable number of towns and small cities. And this they did so effectually, as to make it almost impossible at this day to ascertain where some of these actually stood, little more remaining of them than their names.

In addition to these excesses, they massacred a multitude of the inhabitants, and carried some hundreds of all ages and sexes into slavery.

The army, conducted by Abdelzamin in person, traversed Navarre, and, having secured all the passes through which the French could receive assistance from the Asturian Spaniards, proceeded to Aquitaine, and pillaged and burnt Bourdeaux.

Eudes, who had watched the motions of the enemy with a flying camp, crossed the Garonne and Dordogne, and posted himself on the borders of this latter river. But, though his army had been augmented by some troops from Gascony, and he displayed his usual valour, he was defeated with very considerable loss; and, after his defeat, had no alternative but to unite with Charles. He was pursued by his enemy through Perigord, Poitou and Xaintonge, the Moors committing in their march various excesses, of which fire and slaughter were among the mildest.

In Poitou, Abdelzamin vented his fury on the Saints, and burnt the church of St. Hilaire, and the monastery of St. Croix. After this he continued his march along the Loire,

intending to proceed to Tours, to plunder the sepulchre of St. Martin, in which he expected to find immense riches. It was on his march for this city, that he came up with Charles, who had encamped with his gallant army on the banks of the Char, near Tours, at a place called St. Martin le Bel.

The two generals made several trials of their respective skill and strength during the two days preceding the battle. At length the decisive action was commenced by Charles. The Arabs displayed their usual courage and agility, but, having no other defensive armour than stuffed coats, nor offensive than spears and darts, they could make but little impression on the heavy battalions of the French, secured by their bucklers, and fenced in on all sides by halberts and javelins. These grand corps, which were by no means formed for brisk manœuvring, and whose whole dependence was on their firm feet and weighty armour, suffered the Moors to exhaust themselves with their assaults and wheelings. This they did so effectually, that they were at length thrown into confusion and easily broken. Eudes is said to have contributed essentially to the success of this day, by an attack upon the enemy's camp, during the heat of the action, which helped to divert their attention from the main battle.

BOOK THE SECOND.



COMPRIZING THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTH
TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.



CHAPTER THE FIRST

BOOK THE SECOND

COMPEIZING THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTH
TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

OF THE EASTERN CALIPHS.—THE ALIDES, THE OMMI-
ADES, ABASSIDES, AND FATIMITES, IN EGYPT.

UNDER their three first Caliphs, Abou Bekir, Omar, and Othman, we have seen the Arabs, like an irresistible torrent, overwhelming Persia, Syria and Africa, but in the height of their meridional splendor, preserving still their original manners, their characteristic simplicity, their contempt of wealth and luxury, and their obedience to the successors of the Prophet! But what nation has been long proof against the slow and subtle workings of prosperity? In the intoxication of conquest they soon began to overlook, or contemn, the virtues that had rendered them invincible. They soon divided into parties and factions, and turning those arms against each other, which they had hitherto only levelled at their common enemies, contrived in the end to demolish the glorious fabric reared by their ancestors, with the very weapons which had been employed for its construction.

These changes in the conduct and fortunes of this people, commenced with the assassination of Othman, to whom Ali, the companion, the friend and son-in-law of the Prophet, had been declared the successor. Ali stood justly recommended to his countrymen by his natural benevolence and goodness of heart, by his amiable and engaging manners, by the lustre of his military exploits, and, above all, by his marriage with Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet. But notwithstanding these recommendations, powerful as they were, his claim was not universally recognized. Moavias, the governor of Syria, at the instigation of the artful Amrou, who conquered Egypt, had got himself to be proclaimed Caliph at Damascus. Hence sprung that schism which divided the Arabs into two sects, and separated the Turks from the Persians; the cause of Ali being espoused by the Arabs of Medina, and that of Moavias by the Syrian Arabs; the former of these factions assumed the name of Alides, the latter of Ommiades, from Ommias, the grand-father of Moavias.

Though Ali triumphed over his competitor, he did not long enjoy the Caliphat. Three Karegites, so the most furious of the Musulman sect are called, fancying that the contests between Moavias, Amrou, and Ali, portended nothing short of the subversion of the true faith, determined upon the destruction of the whole obnoxious triumvirate. One of these accordingly sought out Moavias, and attempted to dispatch him,

but, being too much agitated, and striking at random, he missed his aim, and only wounded him slightly in the back. The second, who had undertaken to assassinate Amrou, killed one of his friends by mistake. The third was more successful than his accomplices. He wounded Ali as he entered the mosque, and the wound being given with a poisoned weapon proved mortal. Thus by a fatality not uncommon, but for which no human reasoning can account, out of three victims that had been devoted, the hand of fanaticism was suffered to act with effect only against the most virtuous!

—nec te tua plurima, Pantheu,

Labentem pietas, nec Apollinis Infula texit!

The Ommiades, after the death of Ali, remained in possession of the Caliphat. But their reigns were reigns of incessant tumults, treasons, and assassinations. It was, indeed, under Valid the first, one of these Caliphs, that the Arabians extended their empire from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Atlantic. But they could assume little or no credit to themselves from these successes, being at best but a feeble race of princes. Their generals, however, were expert, and their soldiers brave, and, by these props, they were supported on the throne for the term of ninety three years. Mirvan the second*, the last prince of this Dynasty, was deposed

* Note (A).

by Abdallah of the race of the Abassides, whose descendents became afterwards so celebrated in the east for their love of the sciences, and for the renowned names of Haroun Al Raschid*, Al Mamon, and the Barmecydes.

The Abassides held the Caliphat for about four centuries, when they were dispossessed by the Tartar descendents of Genghis Khan, having witnessed, antecedently, the establishment of another dynasty of Caliphs in Egypt; that of the Fatimites, so called from their pretended descent from Fatima. By the establishment of this race of Caliphs, the empire of the Arabs, properly so called, over Egypt ceased, and the bulk of that people returning to Arabia, hold now a situation in that country, pretty similar to the one they held antecedent to the appearance of Mahomet. We anticipate these events because Spain, from this period, will have but little concern in the affairs of the east.

But, to return to the Abassides. When the cruel Abdallah placed his nephew Abou Abbas on the throne, he formed the horrible design of extirpating the whole race of the dethroned dynasty. In countries in which polygamy is tolerated, and children are deemed a blessing, it is not at all uncommon to reckon many thousands of individuals in one family. The

* Note (B).

family thus devoted was extremely numerous, and therefore not to be easily taken off by any open or regular process. The traitor being aware of this, determined to circumvent them by treachery, from which his cruelty taught him to expect a more complete and summary gratification. Conformably to this plan, he issued out a proclamation, by which he promised a general pardon to such of the Omniades as should surrender themselves on a certain day at an appointed place. The persecuted and unsuspecting people gave too readily into the snare, and did not fail to present themselves at the appointed time, to solicit pardon at the feet of the usurper. But what lenity could be expected under the gripe of a tyger? The inhuman barbarian had no sooner, as he thought, assembled all the objects of his jealousy, than, without the least remorse or scruple, he ordered them to be indiscriminately butchered in his presence. Nor was his ferocity satiated by this collective slaughter; for, while the horrid deed was perpetrating, as if his natural cruelty was quickened by the sight of blood, he ordered the mangled bodies of his victims to be ranged by each other, and covered with boards and a Persian carpeting, and upon this monstrous table caused a sumptuous banquet to be served up to himself and his officers! Humanity shudders at such recitals; but painful as they are, and disgusting in the extreme, they are not altogether useless or irrelevant lessons, since they shew the excesses of which human nature is capable under the instiga-

tions of ambition, and a lawless lust of power, and serve as a land-mark through the regions of history.

Notwithstanding all his precautions, one Ommiadæan prince contrived to elude the vengeance of the faithless Abdallah. Abdelzamin, so he was called, made his escape into Egypt through incredible hardships and dangers, and the Moors of Spain, who had been perfectly informed of all the cruelties exercised on his family, were no sooner apprised of his arrival than they sent to offer him the crown, and urge his presence among them to assume it in form. Abdelzamin, whose mind had been formed and expanded in the school of adversity, accepted the splendid offer without hesitation, and having landed in Spain with such a force as he could assemble on the instant, proceeded against Cordova, the capital of the Spanish Musulman state.

These events happened exactly at the time that Joseph, whom we mentioned in the preceding book, had recently assumed the government of that kingdom, in the name of the Abasides. Though he conducted himself against the invader with both skill and courage, all his efforts were ineffectual. He was vanquished in two successive battles, and his capital remaining in the hands of his adversary, quickly drew after it many other considerable cities. In consequence of these rapid successes, Abdelzamin's title was acknowledged in a short time

generally among the Spanish Moors, and he was proclaimed Caliph of the West: and Spain, thus dismembered from the great empire of the Arabs, was destined in her turn to shine forth with independent lustre, and become a flourishing and formidable kingdom.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

ABDELZAMIN THE FIRST.—HACCHAM.—ABDELOZIS AL
HACCHAM.

THE recent revolution we have noticed in the preceding chapter, at first rather weakened the power of the Spanish Musulmans, by depriving them, for a time at least, of the succours they had been accustomed to receive from Asia and Africa. The new Caliph was therefore fully occupied, having to contend not only against the power he had dispossessed, against the king of Leon*, and the irruptions of the French into Catalonia, but against some of the Musulman districts in Spain, the viceroys of which endeavoured to convert the governments they had hitherto held in the name of the Abasidæan Caliphs, into so many independent principalities.

With such various objects to perplex him at once, it is not

* Note (C).

to be supposed that Abdelzamin could make any great impression, or indeed present any tolerable front to the Spaniards of Galicia, or the Asturies. But the very forbearance he was forced to practise, operated with these powers in his favour, and, by infusing fresh hopes into the Christians, tended to reconcile them not a little to the recent revolution. But, to augment the hopes of these powers further, Froila, who had succeeded Alphonso the Catholic, had repulsed the Moors from Portugal after compelling them to raise the seige of Beija. If, in addition to his military talents, this prince had only possessed the art of ingratiating himself with his new subjects, his conquests would have been secured, and his glory so far complete. But he was naturally cruel, and, by his cruelty, not only lost all his own acquisitions, but was on the brink of losing those of his predecessors, by laying his whole kingdom at the mercy of the Moors. This misfortune was only averted by the death of Abdelzamin, which happened, perhaps seasonably, at the crisis at which the Christian governments of Leon and Asturies were tottering to their fall.

Abdelzamin had the glory of triumphing over all his enemies. He established his family on the throne, and received from his subjects the proud appellation of The Just. Notwithstanding the important and even dangerous wars in which he was necessarily engaged, he courted and patronized the sciences. Under his auspices, various schools were established

at Cordova, to which learned men resorted from all parts to give lectures in grammar, mathematics, astronomy and medicine. He was himself esteemed the most eloquent man of his day, and is said to have composed some verses which are still in estimation. He embellished and fortified his capital, and constructed a magnificent palace surrounded with gardens disposed with the greatest taste.

But, what has contributed principally to the renown of this monarch, is, that he was the founder of the celebrated mosque, which remains to this day the just object of admiration to all travellers. This monument of magnificence and splendour, though begun in his reign, was not completed till the reign of his son and successor. Only half of it, we are given to understand, has been preserved by the Spaniards; but this half is six hundred and fifty feet in length, by two hundred and fifty wide. It is supported by more than three hundred columns of jasper, alabaster and marble;—a relique by which the spectator is enabled to form no imperfect idea of its primitive magnificence. The building had twenty four brazen gates of entrance, all profusely decorated or enriched with golden sculptures; and four thousand lamps were kept constantly burning in it, as if it had been the intention of the founder that the splendour of this costly edifice should never for a moment cease to dazzle.

To this building the Caliphs of Cordova resorted every Friday to pray for the people; Friday, according to the precepts of the Musulman law, being the day expressly dedicated to public worship. Hither the Musulmans of Spain were accustomed to perform their pilgrimages, as those of the east to the temple of Meccha. Here were celebrated, with the greatest solemnity, the feasts of the great and little Beiram, the feast of the New Year, and the anniversary of the Miloud or birth of Mahomet. Each of these feasts continued eight days, during which term all labour was suspended. The people were employed in paying and receiving visits reciprocally; sacrifices were incessantly offered.—Animosities of every kind were reconciled; and families, again united in bonds of natural affection which otherwise might have been dissevered for ever, delivered themselves up to all orderly and apposite recreations. The city was illuminated. The streets were strewed with flowers. The walks and public places resounded with the notes of cytherns, lutes and hautboes; and to conclude, as the most laudable finishing of the feast, the rich were profuse in their charities, and the blessings of the poor, the unbefriended, the contrite and the broken in spirit, the most acceptable of all incenses in the Infallible Presence, were wafted to heaven in grateful Pæans of festivity and praise!

It was Abdelzamin that introduced the taste for splendid feasts into Spain, which we are told he had the art of embel-

lishing and setting off to the highest advantage. Having been educated in the east, and uniting in his own person as Caliph the powers of the church with those of the state, he was enabled on all occasions to vie in pomp and magnificence with the sovereigns of Damascus. Though he was an enemy to the Christians, who formed a very considerable portion of his subjects, he persecuted none. But he deprived the cities of their bishops and other dignified preachers, and encouraged marriages between the Moors and Spaniards; by which latter quiet and imperceptible sap, he did more complete injury to Christianity, than persecution in all her vindictive terrors ever dreamed of effecting.

Abdelzamin, after a reign of thirty years, died possessed of all that portion of Spain, extending from Catalonia along the coasts of the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. He bequeathed his throne to his son Haccham, the third of his eleven children. During his reign the Gothic kings, Aurelio and Mauregat, the successors of Froila, were compelled again to retire into the Asturias, and subject themselves to the disgraceful tribute of presenting one hundred young women annually at Cordova.

This kingdom, on the accession of Haccham, was distracted by factions and civil wars, and the new Caliph had at once to contend not only against his brothers and uncles, but many other ambitious princes of the blood. In despotic govern-

ments, where the order of succession is rarely established by any law, wars of this kind are almost always inevitable. In these, to be of the blood royal is often supposed to furnish a justifiable pretext for aspiring at the crown. As almost every Caliph left a numerous progeny, it was no unusual thing, on his decease, for several of his children to put in at once their claims to the succession. On such occasions each one could generally secure a party possessed of sufficient power to set him up in some city of note, from which he was able to exercise a kind of sovereignty, and contend, at least for a season, against the rest of his brethren. It is to this source we are to trace the swarm of petty states, which, on the termination of every reign, sprung up and were cut down and yet sprung up again. Hence those shocking and endless details of vanquished, deposed, and murdered sovereigns, which render it extremely difficult, if not impossible to methodize the history of the Moorish kings, and which, by their disgusting sameness, make that history so little interesting!

Both Haccham and his son Abdelozis al Haccham contrived to baffle all the efforts of the various factions that contested their claims, and maintained themselves successfully in the Caliphat. The former of these princes completed the beautiful mosque which his predecessor had begun. As Charlemagne in the early part of his reign was engaged in wars which called his forces to some distance from Spain, Haccham

profited of their absence to recover some of the posts in the neighbourhood of the Pyrennees, of which his predecessor had been dispossessed. One of his generals defeated an army of Gauls, which had marched against him under the conduct of William Count of Narbonne. But he derived no other benefit from this victory than that of plundering some few cities of little or no account, and carrying off a considerable number of prisoners, which, it is said, were employed in completing the celebrated mosque.

But though the Caliph derived no other benefit from this battle, it must, at least for a time, have been extremely prejudicial to the French king, as it left him many places to recover, which individual Moors, availing themselves of the weakness of their garrisons, had ventured to seize. Zatum had made himself master of Barcelona. Balalue, governor of Huesca, refused to acknowledge Charlemagne, as his predecessor had consented to do, and the spirit of revolt even extended as far as Navarre, where the natives, in conjunction with the Moors, had taken possession of Pampeluna. Most of these cities were recovered by Charlemagne about the year seven hundred and ninety six, and, in the following year, Louis duke of Aquitaine, by order of this king, passed the frontiers, and having demolished the city of Lerida, proceeded to lay siege to Barcelona.

Abdelozis sent a powerful army to the relief of this city. But this army could do nothing; for, as the duke of Aquitaine was able to keep three distinct armies on foot, exclusive of the one that carried on the siege, the Moors could give no relief to the town without previously disposing of these covering armies, to which their strength was wholly incompetent.

The garrison, though thus deprived of assistance, defended itself for some time with incredible obstinacy; undergoing bravely all the hardships inseparable from famine and excessive fatigue. At length, however, the place was obliged to capitulate upon conditions sufficiently favourable, such of the inhabitants as wished it being permitted to join their countrymen in other districts.

Abdelozis, during the whole of his reign, was continually embroiled either with the French or Spaniards, or with his own subjects. He died in the midst of troubles, and was succeeded by his son Abdelzamin the second.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

REIGN OF ABDELZAMIN THE SECOND.

ALTHOUGH the successor of Abdelozis was both a great and good prince, we must nevertheless fix upon his reign as the period at which the Christians in Spain began to form something like a counterpoise against the power of the Moors. They availed themselves of their domestic quarrels to harrass them incessantly, and get possession of some of their frontier towns. At length Alphonso the Chaste, king of Asturias, found himself strong enough to refuse the tribute of the hundred virgins, which had been stipulated originally with Froila, and confirmed by his two successors Aurelio and Mauregat.

Alphonso seems to have been born for the conjuncture at which he appeared. Christian Spain was at this time parcelled out between different sovereigns, all of whom were alike threatened by the arms of Abdelzamin. Arragon and Navarre

had separated from the kingdom of Leon: and, though the power of the counts of Castile was divided, yet Alphonso had reason to apprehend that their power might concentrate ultimately in one person, and become extremely troublesome to the paramount sovereign.

Arragon had hitherto been governed by its counts, who were dependent on the kingdom of Leon. At length the Arragonians finding themselves particularly exposed to the depredations of the Moors, and that all their applications to their sovereign for protection were ineffectual, determined to have a king of their own, and accordingly elected Inigo Count of Bigorre to this important trust. It was this election that gave rise to the famous code of the *Fore de Sobrarbe*,* somewhat similar to our Magna Charta. This code, though once common to the people of Navarre, jointly with the people of Arragon, has since become the exclusive law of this latter, by whom it has been always regarded as a kind of fundamental law. It contained two principal and very material clauses. That the king should not decide either upon war or peace, or any other subjects of similar importance, without the consent of the *Ricombres*, or council of twelve of the principal people: and that these *Ricombres*, on the other hand, should be sworn to watch over

* Note (D).

his person, and assist him faithfully with such counsels as were most expedient for the government and defence of his kingdom. Other articles borrowed from the French and Lombards have been since added to this code ; the whole of which composes that bill of rights, to which the Arragonese have always so pertinaciously adhered, and which has been frequently found so inconvenient to the pursuits of their sovereigns.

The separation of Navarre and Arragon could not be seen with indifference by the king of Leon, and his jealousy was much heightened by some recent acquisitions, which these powers had separately made from the infidels. Alphonso saw that every thing was to be apprehended from the vicinity of two kingdoms so little inferior in magnitude to his own. To guard therefore his kingdom against the effects of their rising ambition, he had associated Ramire to him in his government, and afterwards, by his will, nominated him to the succession. Upon the death of Alphonso the rights of this successor were at first contested by several competitors, and the crown of Leon hung for some time in suspense. Fortune, however, at length decided in favour of Ramire, and he found himself firmly established on the throne with no other enemy to contend with but Abdelzamin the sovereign of Cordova. The Moor having demanded as usual the tribute of the hundred virgins, his demand produced a war, and a severe battle was fought near Logrono, which lasted two days, in which

both sides laid claim to the victory: the Moors, however, retreated.

The tide, after this battle, seemed to turn in favour of the Christians, all the north of Spain becoming inimical to the Moors, and their possessions in the south being harrassed by reiterated irruptions from the Normans. Against these different enemies Abdelzamin defended himself with equal courage and ability.

But while he was thus necessarily occupied with war, he was not inattentive to the less dazzling, but far more beneficial, glories of peace. He embellished his capital with a new mosque, and caused a most superb aqueduct to be constructed, by which water was distributed by leaden pipes into all parts of the city. He attracted artists, poets and philosophers to his court, associated with them familiarly, and was himself a model of the very excellencies he thus encouraged. His great mind was rivetted to the arts and to the sciences. It was under his auspices that the celebrated school of music was founded, which produced afterwards the many élèves*, that constituted the delight of Asia; by which he caused Spain, like a grateful stream, to pay back a tribute in kind, to the source to which she was indebted for the repletion

* Note (E).

of her springs. Under his fostering encouragement, Cordova became the cradle, not only of the arts, but of the pleasures, their twin sisters; and Musulman ferocity was melted down and refined by a happy mixture or amalgamation of gallantry and politeness. Of this we have a pleasant exemplification in the conduct of Abdelzamin himself!

The favourite slave of the Caliph, having had a slight difference with her royal lover, withdrew in anger from his presence; making at the same time a vow, that she would see the door of her apartment walled up, before it should be opened to him again. The chief eunuch, who overheard this vow, and was frightened at it, as if he had heard so much blasphemy; hastened to his master, and prostrating himself in his presence, declared tremblingly what he had heard. Abdelzamin listened to the recital in perfect good humour; then, smiling, commanded the door way to be immediately closed with pieces of silver, declaring at the same time, that this barrier should never be removed, till the favourite herself should think proper to remove it for her own pleasure. What more effectual or more refined mode of conciliation could gallantry have devised? The wall vanished, as if by enchantment, the very evening after it was constructed. The wrath of the favourite was appeased; and it is scarcely necessary to add, the royal gallant enjoyed, as he justly merited, the happy fruits of his polite and seasonable ingenuity.

Abdelzamin at his death left eighty-six children, forty-five sons and forty-one daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son Mohammed. His reign, as well as the reigns of his successors Almouzin and Abdallah, exhibit for a space of sixty years only a succession of calamities, of intestine tumults and divisions, of civil wars, and of revolts of different cities, excited by their respective governors, with a view to their own aggrandizement. The kings of Leon, profiting by these scenes of confusion, extended their dominions considerably; while the Normans on the other hand committed fresh depredations in Andalousia. Toledo, often punished, yet always in rebellion, had erected her own sovereign, and her example was followed by Saragossa. By these joint and reiterated shocks, the authority of the Cordovian monarchs seemed tottering to its fall; when, happily for the Moors, on a sudden the whole face of the political atmosphere was changed; and Abdelzamin the third ascended the throne, to calm the jarring elements, and give augmented splendour to the apparently expiring Caliphat.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

CORDOVA, UNDER ABDELZAMIN THE THIRD.

ABDELZAMIN on his accession to the throne assumed the title of Prince of the True Believers. He was brave, active and enterprizing, and a rigid observer of justice, by which qualities he endeared himself to all orders of his Musulman subjects. His reign commenced in glory. He quickly brought back to their allegiance such of his revolted subjects as his predecessors had long contended against in vain, and restored order and tranquillity through the different provinces of his empire.

But he was engaged in long and bloody wars with the kings of Leon and Navarre, in which he was powerfully assisted by the Moors of Africa, and which he conducted in general with great success. Yet notwithstanding his general successes, he was obliged in the course of these wars, to abandon Madrid, a city at that time of little account, to the king of Leon. This

sacrifice, however, does not seem to have detracted from his glory, as under cover of the divisions which he artfully fermented among the Spanish princes, he carried his arms above twelve times into the very centre of their states.

But notwithstanding the wars in which he was incessantly engaged, and the consequent intrigues he was obliged to practise to support these wars; notwithstanding the expences attendant on the numerous fleets and armies he maintained, and the sums he annually expended to secure the assistance of the African Moors, the court of Abdelzamin displayed a degree of magnificence, which we could scarcely credit if the fact was not well attested by historians. Of this I shall give some examples.

The Greek emperor, Constantine the ninth, wishing to oppose to the Abassidæan Caliphs of Bagdat, an enemy capable of contending with them, sent an embassy to solicit the alliance of Abdelzamin. This compliment from a Christian sovereign, was so highly flattering to the Caliph, that he determined to honour the embassy with a reception in the highest style of Asiatic pomp. Accordingly, many of the principal lords of his court were dispatched to Jaën to attend and welcome the ambassadors, who were to be escorted from thence by a large body of cavalry which had been splendidly accoutred for the occasion. On their arrival at Cordova, they found

all the avenues to the palace lined by an infantry still more splendid. The passages to the court were covered with the choicest Persian and Egyptian carpeting, and the walls hung with gold stuffs of the richest and most curious fabrication. The ambassador at his audience was presented by the Hadji or chief officer of the court, and received by the Caliph seated on a splendid throne, with all the principal persons of his court around him, and all his riches disposed to the greatest advantage. A display of wealth and magnificence with which the ambassadors were exceedingly dazzled, and at which they could not avoid testifying both delight and admiration.

The letter from the Greek emperor was on a beautiful blue parchment, inclosed in a gold box, which the ambassadors prostrated themselves to present. When this ceremony was ended, and the treaty signed, they were sumptuously entertained during their stay in the capital, and, at the conclusion, sent back loaded with the richest presents, under an escort even more splendid and numerous than the one which had received them at their landing; which had orders to attend them to the walls of Constantinople.

Abdelzamin who was thus powerful, thus courted and revered, was himself the slave of beauty; the willing captive of the lovely Zehra, or flower and ornament of the world, on whom he doated during his whole life. In honour of his

lovely mistress he founded a city about two miles from Cordova, to which he gave her name, and which, if we may believe report, must have been indeed a most magnificent offering at the shrine of his idol. This city, now no more, was situated at the foot of a lofty mountain from which issued several beautiful springs of the purest water. These springs were conducted through the streets with the nicest art, so as to answer the purposes both of use and ornament, forming in some of the public places large transparent reservoirs, or spouting up in others in a variety of beautiful fountains. The houses were in a style of taste and magnificence perfectly corresponding with the intentions of the royal founder. They were surmounted with flat roofs, on which were gardens beautifully laid out, which abounded with orange and other choice fruit trees, as well as an infinite variety of shrubs and odorous flowers. The principal gates* of the city were all decorated with statues of the beautiful slave. Such was the splendid oblation of Moorish gallantry at the shrine of beauty!

But even this splendid oblation, so far out of the common order of things, so much in the style of Oriental fable and fiction, was far eclipsed by the palace of the favourite. In consequence of his alliance with the Greek emperor, Abdelza-

* Note (F).

min had obtained the assistance of his ablest architects, and, in addition to this signal mark of favor and distinction, the sovereign of Constantinople had further presented him with forty columns of beautiful granite. The palace contained besides twelve hundred other columns of Spanish or Italian marble. The walls of the saloons were decorated with gold, and many imitations of animals, in that metal, were disposed in basins of beautiful alabaster, into which they constantly discharged streams of the purest water. Historians farther assure us, that the ceilings of the pavilion, in which the favourite passed the night with Abdelzamin, were covered with gold and silver inlaid with precious gems, and that a fountain of quicksilver was kept playing through the whole night into a basin of alabaster.

These details we must own are not easy to be credited, since they certainly savour of the translation of some Arabian tale, and seem to have a closer affinity with Eastern invention than with historical truth. Such monuments of wealth and magnificence, of pageantry and splendour, do not certainly come within the scope of modern observation, and the generality of mankind regulating its faith by this standard, will hardly be brought to credit this description. But are not the accounts of the modern sovereigns of Asia, which we find in authors of unquestionable veracity, to the full as astonishing? If the pyramids of Egypt had been destroyed by earthquakes,

would the travellers who have given their dimensions, have been thought entitled to greater credit? The details here given are, in fact, not only vouched for by the Arabian writers, and related by Cardan, who has admitted them with great caution; but they are further confirmed by Mr. Swinburne, a gentleman of great observation and discernment, and one who may be reckoned any thing rather than an over-credulous traveller.

Writers of very good authority, represent the sums expended upon the city of Zehra to have amounted annually to three hundred thousand golden dinars. The work took upwards of twenty years for its completion; and therefore estimating the dinar at only eight shillings and four pence of our money, which I believe is too little, the annual expenditure must have been about one hundred and twenty five thousand pounds sterling; a sum which the nations of modern Europe, almost always engaged in wars, would expend in less than half a day! So much easier do we make it to destroy than to build up; or, to allude to Themistocles's expression, "so much easier is it to sound the fife, than to make a small city a great one!"

To the above expences of Abdelzamin, we must add the maintenance of his seraglio, in which the number of wives, concubines and eunuchs, exceeded six thousand. The officers

of the household, and the palaces set apart for their use, were all in a proportionate style of costliness and splendor. The body guard alone consisted of twelve thousand cavalry. If, in addition to these drains, we recollect, that Abdelzamin was incessantly at war; that he was, as we have already remarked, obliged to subsidize large bodies of stipendiary forces from Africa, and to fortify the various parts of his dominions that were exposed to invasion, it is scarcely conceivable, how means could be devised, adequate to the supply of such accumulating enormous expenditures.

But the revenues of this Caliph were immense, and he was perhaps the richest potentate at that time in the world. He possessed Portugal and Andalousia, the kingdoms of Granada, Murcia and Valencia, and the principal and best parts of New Castile. He owned all the valuable and beautiful districts in Spain, and the different provinces of his empire were not only well peopled, but the Moors, by whom they were peopled chiefly, had brought agriculture to the highest possible perfection. We are assured that there were more than twelve thousand villages and towns on the banks of the Guadalquivir, and that a traveller could scarcely journey in any direction without encountering perpetually either towns, villages or hamlets. Within the dominions of the Caliph were reckoned eighty principal cities, three hundred of an inferior class, and an infinite number of smaller towns. Cordova contained within its walls

two hundred thousand houses, and nine hundred public baths! How reversed, alas, the picture since the expulsion of the Moors! It has been reversed from a very obvious cause. The generous Moor, where he vanquished, did not persecute. The Spaniard, in his turn conqueror, not only persecuted, but destroyed.

The revenues of the Caliphs were estimated, in ordinary, at twelve millions forty five thousand golden dinars; in addition to which many taxes were laid upon the products of the earth; a source of wealth which, among a people famed for industry and agricultural excellence, must certainly have proved extravagantly productive, however objectionable it might have been on the score of policy.

The mines of gold and silver with which Spain at all times abounded, of which no adequate estimate can be formed, were further sources of inexhaustible wealth; while commerce, through her various windings and ramifications, through her many imperceptible alimentary channels, conspired jointly to enrich both the sovereign and his people. Silks, cochineal, iron, wool, even at that time in singular estimation, ambergris, yellow amber, load-stones, talc, antimony, marquisites, rock chrystal, oils, sugar, ginger, saffron, coral fished for on the coast of Andalousia, pearls on that of Catalonia, and, finally, rubies, two mines of which had been discovered, one at

Malaga, the other at Beija; all these were so many sources of amplitude to the revenues of the Cordovian Caliphs. These productions were sent sometimes in a wrought, sometimes in an unwrought state to Egypt and the East; the emperors of Constantinople, always the faithful allies of the Cordovian Caliphs, favouring these various branches of commerce, which the Moors, by their immense command of coast, and their neighbourhood to Africa, Italy and France, were able to nourish and pamper at pleasure*.

But, in addition to these advantages, the arts, the children of commerce, contended to throw augmented splendour on the brilliant reign of Abdelzamin. His magnificent entertainments, the gardens he planned, the palaces he constructed, alike attracted artists from all countries, and while they rendered Cordova the predominant school of industry, converted it also into an asylum for the sciences.

It was in this reign that those celebrated seminaries of astronomy, geometry, chemistry and medicine were perfected, which, in less than half a century after, produced an Averroes and an Abenzoni! Such was the fame of the Arabian professors in philosophy and medicine, that, when Alphonso the Great, king of Leon, wished to select an able preceptor for his

* Note (G).

son, he was induced, notwithstanding difference of religion, and the known hereditary antipathy of Catholics to Musulmans, to invite two Moorish preceptors to this important charge. And further, when Sancho the Great, one of the successors of this Alphonso, was afflicted with a dropsy, which his own physicians pronounced incurable, he came without the smallest hesitation or mistrust to Cordova, and committed himself to the skill of the Caliph's physician. The faith of Sancho did not pass unrewarded. He was completely cured, and this singular trait reflects equal honour on the generosity of the Caliph, the noble and confident liberality of the Christian monarch, and the professional knowledge and dexterity of the learned Arabian.

Thus was Cordova exalted during the reign of Abdelzamin. A reign certainly of unqualified glory. Alas! "the paths of glory lead but to the grave." Perhaps we cannot have a better standard for appreciating the nature and value of all sublunary pursuits, than what is to be found in the following letter, discovered among the manuscripts of the Caliph after his death, and written, apparently, only a few days antecedent to that awful event.

" Fifty years are elapsed since I ascended the throne of my
" ancestors. During this whole term, I had pleasure, wealth
" and honours so unqualifiedly at my command, that Heaven

“ seemed to have lavished upon me all its choicest blessings.
“ I now find myself on the verge of the grave, and endeavour-
“ ing at this awful moment to recollect how many days of this
“ long reign I can call happy ones, I find the whole number
“ taken together does not exceed fourteen. Profit, O my son,
“ by this lesson, and, if it is thy fate to reign as long as I have
“ done, and experience the same good fortune, be mindful to
“ turn thy time to better account, so that at the end thou
“ mayest derive comfort from reflection, and be able to boast
“ of more than fourteen happy days*.”

* Note (H).

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

REIGN OF HAKHAM.—DECLINE OF CORDOVA.—END OF
THE EMPIRE OF THE CALIPHS OF THE WEST.

ABDELZAMIN was succeeded by his son Abbou Abbas al Hakham, whose coronation was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence at the city of Zehra. To this city the brothers and kinsmen of the new Caliph, the chiefs of the Scythian guards (a formidable band of warriors formed by his predecessor) the vizirs, the chief Hadje and all the other great officers resorted to take the oaths of allegiance. After the ceremony of the coronation, the body of the late Caliph was interred with great pomp in the tomb of his ancestors at Cordova.

Hakham, though less warlike than his father, was not inferior to him either in courage or talents, and enjoyed far greater tranquillity. If the spirit of rebellion was not completely laid, it had at least been weakened, and kept under

by the exploits and vigilance of Abdelzamin : and the Christian sovereigns were too much occupied at this time by their own divisions, to give any considerable molestation to the Moors. The truce with Castile and Leon was broken only once during the reign of Hakham, and even then every thing terminated to his glory and advantage.

This good Caliph seems to have been wholly intent on two objects, the happiness of his people, and the advancement of the sciences. He gave the greatest encouragement to men of learning, by whose advice and assistance he formed a valuable library of the choicest books. His laws, though few and simple, were enforced with strictness and impartiality. Among the Moors, as far as we can judge, the civil and religious code were one and the same ; their jurisprudence being confined to an application of the principles laid down in the Alcoran ; which principles, though the Caliph as head of the church was competent to explain and enforce, he himself did not dare to violate.

On the first day of every week he gave audience to his subjects, listening to their grievances, examining accused persons, and sentencing delinquents to their just punishment. He nominated all the governors of the different provinces and cities ; and these governors commanded the military, superintended the collection of the revenues, presided over the

police, and were amenable for all outrages in their respective districts.

The duties of notaries were discharged by persons conversant in the laws, whose employment it was to give a juridical form to all transfers of property. When a process was ready, it was submitted to certain magistrates or judges called Cadis, whose authority was alike revered by the sovereign and his people. These processes were never long. No expence was incurred by them, no chicanery in the conducting of them practised or tolerated. Advocates and proctors, or sanctioned pleaders, were unknown. The parties pleaded for themselves, and judgment was given on the instant.

Nor was the criminal jurisprudence more complicated than the civil, being regulated by the Alcoran, and consisting of requitals and compensations rather than any species of corporal punishments. The rich could compound even for blood, provided they obtained the consent of the kindred of the deceased. But this consent was so indispensable a condition, that if the son of the Caliph was convicted of a murder, even the authority of his father could not remit the punishment, unless the kindred of the deceased were brought to acquiesce.

It would perhaps have been impossible for a code thus

simple to suffice for all the purposes of civil society, if the laws had not been strengthened by two very powerful props ; by the supreme unlimited authority of parents over their children, and husbands over their wives. With respect to parents, the Arabs or Moors observed in every family that submissive, unqualified obedience to their chief, which was in strict conformity with the ancient patriarchal customs. Every father of a family, within his own walls, possessed, in a certain degree, the authority of a Caliph. He decided all disputes between his wives and children, and from his decisions there lay no appeal. He could inflict severe punishments even for trivial transgressions, and, in some cases, even death. An old man was every where the object of respect and veneration, the young always accosting him with modesty and reverence, and receiving his admonitions with the profoundest attention. His appearance quelled all tumults and disorders instantly, his white beard being every where regarded as a kind of symbol of magistracy.

This power of manners, paramount over all laws, prevailed for a considerable time at Cordova, and the following anecdote will shew that it was not at all impaired by the sage Hakham.

A poor woman of Zehra owned a small field contiguous to the Caliph's gardens, upon which this prince wished to erect a

pavilion. The intendant of the gardens was accordingly directed to propose the purchase of the field from the owner; to this proposal, she on her part refused to accede, having, as she said, an insurmountable objection to disposing of any part of the inheritance of her ancestors. Courtiers rarely like to report unpalatable tidings to their masters, and we cannot therefore wonder that the woman's refusal was carefully concealed. But, though the intendant thought fit to conceal it, he determined to take a summary way of severing the knot which he could not fairly untie. He possessed himself forcibly of the land, and erected the projected pavilion.

The humble owner being thus cruelly oppressed, betook herself in despair to the Cadi Bekir at Cordova, requesting his advice and interposition. The Cadi, not quite so much a courtier as the intendant, not quite so zealous as to commit flagrant injustice for his master's pleasure, was of opinion, that the Prince of the Believers had no better right than the meanest of his subjects to seize upon the property of another by force; and he therefore recurred to an expedient to recall the mind of the Caliph to a principle, which the best of men may sometimes inadvertently transgress.

A very few days after this complaint had been made, the Caliph was indulging himself in his favourite pavilion, when he saw the Cadi approach mounted on an ass, with an empty

sack in his hand. Hakham, much astonished, demanded the cause of this singular phenomenon. "Commander of the Faithful!" says Bekir, "I come to request permission to fill this sack with some part of that earth you are now treading under your feet." The Prince was too much struck with the singularity of the request not to wish to know how so strange a scene would end. He therefore gave his consent, and the judge gravely proceeded to fill the sack. This was no sooner done, than Bekir, leaving it on its end, humbly requested that the Prince would complete the bounty by enabling him to fix his burthen on the ass. With this requisition the Caliph also endeavoured to comply; but finding the sack so heavy that he was scarcely able to move it, he smiled and let go his hold, complaining at the same time of the enormous weight, and the incompetency of his strength to perform the task required.

This declaration was no sooner made, than Bekir, with commanding gravity, exclaimed, "Prince of the Believers! the sack which you find so weighty contains but a very small portion indeed of the land which you have forcibly taken from one of your subjects. If you find this portion, considerable as it is, so heavy and intolerable, what will the field itself be found, when you present yourself, as you must do hereafter, in the presence of an infallible Judge, loaded with the whole weight of your trespass."

The Caliph could not withstand this ingenious and just reproof. He sprung towards the judge, embraced and thanked him for this noble pledge of his integrity, and acknowledging his transgression openly, ordered not only the field to be restored to the injured proprietor, but the pavilion also with all its rich contents. How few judges so bravely honest as Bekir! How few despots so considerate and just as Hakham! The despot capable of acting thus nobly was only second to the judge who taught him thus to act.

We always part reluctantly with princes who are thus alive to the calls of justice; thus capable of feeling the wrongs they inflict. Hakham* reigned only fourteen years, and he had the misfortune to be succeeded by a son who was a child when he began to reign, and continued such ever after. He had, however, an able and honest minister in Mahomet Almanzor, who, by his office of chief Hadji, had the principal management of his affairs, and acquitted himself with great wisdom and firmness, both during and after the minority of his master.

Mahomet, to the talents of a great general, united all the qualities of a consummate statesman, and may be said to have reigned in the name of his master during twenty six

* Note (I).

years without subjecting himself to any other imputation than that of bearing an implacable hatred to the Christians. He carried his arms more than fifty-two times into Castile and the Asturias; sacked the cities of Barcelona and Leon, and penetrated as far as Compostella, the celebrated church of which city he destroyed, and enriched Cordova with its spoils. In short, he kept the energies of his countrymen in constant exertion, causing the authority of the weak Caliph to be respected through all Spain, while he himself slumbered amidst his concubines and his pleasures.

This was the last ray of glory that glittered on the dynasty of the Omniades. But this ray was sufficiently splendid to excite the jealousy of the kings of Castile, Leon and Navarre. These three monarchs confederated against Hakham, and a long and desperate battle being fought near Medina, the Moors were vanquished, and so discomfited that they fled in different directions, and were easily cut off. Almanzor, their gallant general, who, from twenty years of uninterrupted success, began to think himself invincible, was so affected by this unexpected overthrow, that he died of grief and vexation, and with this great man perished the fortunes of the Moors in this district of Spain.

The place of Almanzor was ill supplied by his son, who was destined to hold his father's office without inheriting any of

his talents. At length a relation of the Caliph possessed himself of his person, and having placed him in close confinement circulated a rumor of his death, without daring to accomplish what he wished to have believed. This rumour no sooner reached Africa than another Ommiadean prince of that country passed with an army into Spain, with the design, as he gave out, of avenging the death of his kinsman ; and the court of Castile, politically uniting with this prince, a civil war was kindled at Cordova, which quickly spread through all Spain; under cover of which the Christians recovered all the cities of which they had been recently dispossessed by Almanzor.

Amidst these distractions the impotent Hakham, the puppet of all the factions, was again introduced to play his part upon the stage. This, however, his natural timidity soon compelled him to renounce ; and, upon his abdication, a crowd of claimants sprung up who were all proclaimed in turn, and in turn taken off by assassination or poison. At length one Al Mundir, a distant branch of the Ommiadean family, put in his claim, contrary to the remonstrances of his friends, who did not fail to represent to him the dangers he was about to encounter. “ If,” said the infatuated fool, “ I can only “ reign one day, I will not complain, though it should be my “ fate to die on the morrow.” Even at this distance of time, and with the little interest we claim in the concerns of the

Moors, it is gratifying to know, that the wishes of the vain ideot were never realized !

Of the various pretenders who started up, whose claims were alike ephemeral and fatal, Jahmed ben Mohammed was the last. In the person of this prince ended the empire of the Caliphs of the West, which had existed in the dynasty of the Omniades for the space of three centuries ; and with the princes of this house perished the strength and glory of Cordova. The governors of the different cities, heretofore subject to this state, became so many self-constituted petty sovereigns, and Cordova ceased to be the capital of a great kingdom. She preserved indeed her religious pre-eminence, for which she was indebted to her celebrated mosque ; but the inhabitants, weakened by their own dissensions, and subjected to several petty tyrants, were deprived of all principles of resuscitation, and no longer capable of opposing any competent barrier against this reflux in the tide of their fortunes. Consequently the next book can treat of little more than their progressive dissolution.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SECOND BOOK.

NOTE (A), *Mirvan the Second*, &c.

THIS prince was nicknamed Alkemar, or the Ass; a term which, in the East, implies nothing dishonourable: the qualities of this patient and indefatigable animal being there highly esteemed. It is from this Caliph that Ariosto took his affecting episode of Isabella of Gallicia.

Mirvan, when in Egypt, was smitten with the charms of a Christian nun, whom he attempted to ravish. The young lady had strength enough to resist his first assaults, but knowing that no resistance could long avail against such a lover, she determined upon a desperate expedient to save her honor. She promised, provided he desisted at that time from his criminal pursuit, to present him with an ointment which would render him invulnerable; to convince him of which fact, she offered to have the first proof of its efficacy made upon herself. To this the Caliph, who had no suspicion of the stratagem, consented, and the virtuous nun, having rubbed

her neck with the ointment, desired him to strike at it with his sabre, with which he complied, and cut off her head.

NOTE (B). *Haroun Al Raschild, &c.*

Haroun Al Raschild, which means Haroun the Just, acquired great glory in the East, for which, as well as his flattering surname, he was beholden to his protection and encouragement of men of letters. His victories and his love of the sciences, prove that Haroun was no ordinary man, and he would perhaps have been entitled to as just panegyric as most princes who have reigned, if he had not sullied the lustre of his exploits by his cruelty to the Barmecydes.

Frail mortal! with presumptuous pride
And fortune's treach'rous gifts elate,
Behold the fall of Barmecyde
And tremble at thy prosperous fate.

So says, I think, Voltaire.

The noble family of the Barmecydes, descended from the ancient kings of Persia, had not only rendered most signal services to the Caliphs, but justly merited the esteem and veneration of all orders in the empire. Of these Giafar Barmecyde, the prime vizier of Haroun, was particularly entitled to pre-eminence. This Giafar, who was one of the most virtuous of Musulmen, as well as the best writer of his age, had conceived an affection for the beautiful Abassa, the Caliph's sister, which the princess on her part requited.

Haroun, who cherished, to give it no harsher epithet, a tender friendship for his sister, was much tormented at the discovery of this mutual passion. He consented, however, to the union of the lovers; but, by a caprice perfectly characteristic of eastern despotism, bound the amorous vizier by a solemn oath never to enjoy the rights of marriage with his wife. The unfortunate Barmecyde was too well aware of the consequences of a refusal to oppose this cruel requisition, and he accordingly took the oath required. But what oaths, or contracts, can ever be long proof against the joint assaults of love, beauty and solicitation? Abassa, who, though a principal party in the contract, had not been sworn, could not so easily forego her rights, so easily bring herself to consider the marriage contract, as a contract purely platonic. She, therefore, explained herself to her husband in some elegant lines, which she dropt purposely in his way; in which, without departing from the delicacy of her sex, she hinted his duties, and her expectations, in such terms as effectually overcame all his firmness and philosophy. In short, he got access to his wife, and forgot his vow.

About nine months after this interview, the princess was privately delivered of a son, which was sent to Meccha to be nursed, and the secret was so well kept that many years elapsed before the Caliph was apprized of the very pardonable perjury of his minister. At length the fatal secret was revealed by the treachery of one of Giafar's slaves, as the Caliph passed through the city in which the unfortunate infant had been secreted. The atrocious Haroun (one could scarce credit the fact, if it was not well attested through all the East) cast his

sister into a well, ordered the head of his faithful servant to be struck off, and to complete the climax of his criminality, passed sentence of death indiscriminately upon all the Barmecydes.

Jabiad the father of Giafar, a most venerable old man, justly respected through the empire for his virtues, met his fate with the greatest fortitude, taking care however to transmit the following note to the tyrant, a few moments before his execution. "The accused passes off first; the accuser and judge must quickly follow. Both must appear hereafter before that tribunal whose decrees are infallible, and whose justice no one can elude."

Even these cruelties, atrocious as they were, did not appease the wrath of the implacable Haroun, who carried his resentment beyond the grave, so far as to forbid the very name of Barmecyde to be pronounced. But the tyrant did not find all his people disposed to participate in his ignoble and unmanly revenge. A Musulman of the name of Mundir, in particular, dared to brave the unworthy order, so far even as to pronounce a public eulogium on the forbidden name. For this offence he was arraigned before the Caliph, and threatened with instant death. "You can, I admit," says Mundir, "in this way, but this way only, make me silent. But can my death, or silence, erase your late injured and virtuous subjects from the remembrance of the Empire? Even the very wrecks of the works they raised, which you have cruelly destroyed, will prove so many tongues to proclaim their virtues and your injustice."

Haroun was so much struck by this honest and brave reproof, that, to the astonishment, and perhaps disappointment, of his surrounding sycophantic attendants ; he ordered a gold cup of very considerable value to be presented to his reprover ; and the resolute Mundir, on receiving the present, could not help exclaiming “ even this is another blessing from the “ Barmecydes.”

NOTE (C). *King of Leon, &c.*

LEON, the first Christian kingdom founded in Spain, after the invasion of the Moors, is bounded on the north by the Asturias, on the west by Gallicia and Portugal, on the south by Estremadura and Castile, and on the east by Castile. It is one hundred and twenty-five miles in length, by about one hundred broad. It is intersected almost evenly by the Douro.

NOTE (D), *Fore de Sobrarbe, &c.*

SOBRARBE, signifies, upon the tree. The term, says Mezerai, is taken from the following incident. Garcias Ximenes, who signalized himself greatly by his military exploits, being about to give battle to the Moors, directed the mass to be celebrated antecedently. While the army was thus devoutly occupied, the King observed the figure of a crown in the heavens, having at its side an oak which seemed to support a red cross. From

this prodigy he assumed the oak, cross, and crown for his arms, and called the spot from which he had seen them Sobrarbe.

The laws called *Fore de Sobrarbe*, were enacted at this place: and pertained at first to Arragon and Navarre jointly. These laws limited the power of the sovereign by introducing as a counterpoise the office of *Ricos Hombres* or Chief Judge. It was conformably to these laws, that the states of Arragon always made the following declaration to the sovereign at his coronation: “*Nosque volemós tant como quanto vos, y que podemos nasque vos. Os hazemos nuestro Rei com tal que gardeis nuestros fueros: sino no.*” “We are of as much consequence as you. We accept you for our King on condition that you regard the laws and our just rights. Otherwise not.”

The origin of the kingdom of Navarre, is said to have been as follows: On a retired spot in this kingdom called the *Peignée d’Oruël*, there once stood a little cell or chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist, which was long inhabited by a devout hermit, to whom the neighbouring gentry daily paid their respects, from principles of devotion. This hermit is supposed to have died, soon after the period when the Moors had nearly overrun Spain, and at his funeral three or four hundred of the neighbouring gentry assembled to pay him the last solemn honors.

When the ceremony was ended, the conversation chanced

to turn upon the deplorable condition of the country, and the dangers with which Christianity was threatened by enemies, whose manifest design it was to plant their new doctrines in all the places they reduced. While they were warmly occupied by this subject, one of the company was so struck with the place on which they then stood, that he could not help remarking how very tenable it was, and how well calculated for defence. The thought was no sooner suggested, than the whole company determined unanimously to carry it into effect, and to make one struggle in defence of their persecuted faith. And they accordingly chose a leader, who then assumed the title of Count of Navarre.

NOTE (E). *The many Elèves, &c.*

The school for music founded by Ali Zeziah at Cordova, produced the celebrated Moussali, (whom the Orientalists regarded as their greatest musician. Moorish music did not, like ours, consist in a combination of many different instruments, but chiefly in soft and tender airs, in which the singers were accompanied by the lute. Some times they had several voices and several lutes. This music sufficed for a people passionately fond of poetry, who, while they listened to the tunes, were anxious at the same time to comprehend the meaning and merit of the composition.

Moussali, the pupil of the Cordovian school, was in high

estimation with the Caliph Haroun Al Raschild. It is said that Haroun, having quarrelled with his favourite mistress, sunk into a melancholy which endangered his life. To rouse him from this lethargy, the faithful, but afterwards ill-requited Giafar, entreated the poet Abbas ben Anuff to compose some verses on the subject; with which he complied immediately. When these verses were sung to the Caliph, he was so charmed with the thoughts and the accompaniments of the musician, that he started up, and threw himself in raptures at the feet of his mistress to entreat an exchange of forgiveness.

Maria, so the favourite was called, ordered twenty golden drachmas to be divided between the poet and musician, in acknowledgment of this service, and the enraptured Caliph presented them with forty more.

NOTE (F). *Over all the principal gates, &c.*

MAHOMET forbad the use of images in any way whatever, but this precept was never much regarded. The Couis of the Eastern Caliphs bore the head and name of the reigning monarch on one side, and some passages from the Alcoran on the other. In the palaces of Bagdat, Cordova and Grenada, they had not only sculptures in gold and marble, but many statues and representations of various animals.

NOTE (G). *At pleasure, &c.*

WE have a further proof of the opulence of Cordova in the presents which Abdelzamin received from Abimelech ben Cheld, on being advanced to the office of prime minister. It is taken from Ebn Kaledan, an Arabian historian.

Four hundred pounds weight of virgin gold, four hundred thousand sequins in ingots of silver, four hundred pounds weight of aloes, five hundred ounces of ambergris, fifty pieces of gold and silver stuff, ten skins of the Korassin marten, one hundred marten skins of an inferior quality, forty eight housings of gold tissue of Bagdat. Four thousand pounds of silk, thirty Persian carpets, eight hundred sets of horse armour, one thousand bucklers, one hundred thousand arrows, fifteen Arabian horses for the use of the Caliph, one hundred for his officers, twenty mules with sumptuous saddles and trailing housings complete, twenty boy and forty most beautiful girl slaves.

NOTE (H). *Fourteen happy days! &c.*

DID Charles the Fifth say much more for himself when he resigned the sovereignty of the Low Countries to his son? After a reign of thirty six years, the only account he could give of himself was, "that he had visited Germany nine times, Spain six, Italy seven, France four, the Low Countries ten, and that he had visited England and Africa twice,

“ and traversed the seas eleven times.” How much more gloriously could he have boasted that he left his states free and flourishing, and that every subject “ could command a fowl in “ his pot?”

NOTE (I). *Hakham reigned, &c.*

I must here notice the tragical incident of the seven children of Lara, as they are called, which happened in this reign; not only because it has employed the pens of the Spanish writers, having been the subject of many of their romances; but because it serves as an index to the pedigree of one of the most illustrious families in Spain.

The seven children of Lara were seven brothers, sons of Gonsalvo Gustos, a near kinsman of the first counts of Castile and the lords of Salos de Lara. This Gonsalvo had a brother-in-law, named Ruy Velasquez, whose wife Donna Lambra having conceived a rooted hatred to one of the brothers, meditated vengeance upon all, and contrived to effect her horrible purpose by the instrumentality of her own husband. At her instigation, Velasquez begun his villainy, by sending his brother Gonsalvo on some pretended affair of importance to the Caliph of Cordova, giving him at the same time a letter to the Caliph by which he recommended him to be put to death, as one who had ever harboured an implacable hatred to the Moors.

Fortunately for Gonsalvo, Hakham was too just to be

swayed by such a charge. But policy pointed out that some precautions against his new guest might be necessary. Instead therefore of conforming to the purport of the letter, he confined himself simply to the securing the person of his supposed enemy.

While this was passing at Cordova, the treacherous Velasquez, under the pretence of warring against the Moors, seduced his seven nephews into an ambuscade, in which, being surrounded by assassins planted there for the purpose, they were all basely murdered, after having defended themselves stoutly, and exhibited prodigies of valour to the last. Nor did the villainy of the unnatural uncle end here; for he placed the heads of his seven victims in a golden dish which was covered with a napkin, and had them thus presented to the view of their unhappy father.

It is needless to describe the feelings of the wretched Gonsalvo when this sad spectacle was placed before him. The barbarity of the act tended, however, to undeceive the Caliph; and he instantly released his prisoner that he might seek his revenge.

Velasquez, however, was too far removed above his brother to be easily reached by him. Besides, age, and afflictions, which always bring on age prematurely, had too much impaired the powers of the injured father for such an undertaking. No alternative, therefore, apparently remained but to devote the remnant of his life to sorrow and the bitterest reflections. In seclusion with his wife he brooded over his griefs, pining

away in lamentations, and calling incessantly upon Heaven for a speedy termination of his life and sufferings. But the Divine Justice, which never sleeps, was raising up an avenger on whose aid he had little calculated!

While Gonsalvo resided at Cordova he was received by the Caliph's sister as her favoured lover; and the princess, after his departure, had been delivered of a son, the fruit of their union, to whom she gave the name of Mundaria Gonsalvo. This son, who was born a hero, at the age of fifteen was made acquainted with the name of his father and the villainy of his uncle, against whom he meditated from that time the most signal vengeance. Within a few years after, he challenged and killed the ruffian murderer of his brothers, and having cut off his head, presented himself with it at Gonsalvo's feet, and demanded to be made a Christian and acknowledged as his son. The wife of Gonsalvo, who was still living, was so affected by his gallantry, that she backed the solicitation, being proud to be called the mother of the brave bastard, and Mundaria was instantly recognized and baptized. It is from this hero that the Manriques of Lara, one of the first Spanish families, deduce their descent!

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

BOOK THE THIRD.



FROM THE COMMENCEMENT
OF THE ELEVENTH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.



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BOOK THE THIRD



FROM THE COMMENCEMENT
OF THE ELEVENTH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.



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CHAPTER THE FIRST.

CONDUCT OF THE CHRISTIAN PRINCES IN SPAIN.—OF
ALMAMON THE MOOR.

IT is from this period we date not only the total decline of Cordova, but the consequent declension of the Musulman ascendancy in Spain. The crown of this once celebrated kingdom was become, what crowns really are, a kind of ephemeral bawble, which glittered gaudily for a season on the brow of its unhappy possessor, and then was to be contended for anew, perhaps, by some less worthy claimant. Transient, however, and fatal as the acquisition always proved, competitors for the dangerous and brittle trinket were never wanting. Scarcely was one sovereign dispatched or removed, when various candidates rushed forward to supply the vacuum, all contending with equal eagerness to fill a throne, whose steps were still reeking with the blood of the last unhappy possessor.

It was impossible that the capital of a great kingdom could be exposed to such shocks, and the changes they must neces-

sarily produce, without communicating to all the separate dependencies some share of its convulsions. Most of the governors renounced their allegiance, and declaring themselves independent, proceeded to the election of kings or magistrates. Toledo, Saragossa, Seville, Valencia, Huesca, Lisbon, and many others, had their respective sovereigns, whose histories for a space of two centuries exhibit only successive scenes of conspiracies, massacres, devastations, and all the other consequent horrors of civil or family dissensions.

Nor does Christian Spain, during the same period, present more pleasing scenes to contemplation. Sancho the Great, king of Navarre, who died at the commencement of this century, had divided his estates among his four sons. Navarre, with his possessions in Cantabria, was given to the eldest son, Don Garcia, as also the part of Najarre in which his father had resided, the entire Buzeva, which had been detached from Castile, and some smaller districts bordering upon other states. Castile was bequeathed to Don Ferdinand. The smaller states of Ripargocé to Don Gonsalvo, and Arragon to his natural son Don Ramirez. By one of the latter clauses of his will, each of the three last mentioned Princes were to assume the title of King; and each hold his respective state in full sovereignty and totally independent of the other.

By this participation, Christian Spain was divided into six

monarchies, which, in extent, did not amount altogether to near a fourth part of the present kingdom, viz. the four which Sancho had ordained, and the kingdom of Leon and county of Barcelona. The southern part of Leon was occupied by the Moors, and Veremond, son of Alphonso the fifth, had given that part which lies towards mount Ocha, as a marriage portion with his sister. Gallicia had been an appendage of Leon, but this crown, after the loss of Coimbra, could not much calculate on its possessions on the side of Portugal.

The Christian sovereigns, always of kin, sometimes even brothers, in point of barbarity did not yield even to their Moorish neighbours. Nor did difference of religion operate as a greater preventative than the ties of blood to their alliances with Musulmans for their mutual destruction; it being by no means an uncommon thing to see an army of Moors invited by Christians on one side, to combat with an army of Christians invited by Moors on the other. Thus we find, at the battle of Alcantara, a count D'urgal and three bishops, Arnold bishop of Vie, Accio of Barcelona, and Otho of Gironne,* among the slain on the part of the Moors; thus Alphonso the fifth, a Christian sovereign, gave his daughter in marriage to Abdallah king of Toledo, to secure his alliance against Castile.

* Note (A).

It may naturally be supposed, that, during the period we are treating of, crimes of all kinds were as prevalent among Christians as among Moors ; and that the excesses of the former at least kept pace with those perpetrated by the latter. At one period we read of a Sancho Garcia of Castile, who compelled his mother to swallow a poison which the unnatural parent had prepared for himself. At another, we find the children of Ferdinand, another king of Castile, stript of the best part of their inheritance by their uncle Sancho king of Leon. Again, we hear of another Sancho, who assassinated his own brother. All Spain, in short, was assailed and vexed at one and the same instant, by civil wars and foreign, by internal cruelties and external, while the unhappy people, upon whom the penalties of wicked or erroneous policy almost invariably alight, were made to answer with their lives and fortunes for the malversations of their rulers !

The first aggression among the Christian princes after the death of Sancho the Great, was committed by Garcia of Navarre against his natural brother Ramirez of Arragon. The aggressor in this instance was the sufferer ; being compelled by his brother not only to abandon the territories he had invaded, but even his own, and to seek an asylum in the court of his brother Gonsalvo of Sobrarbe. By his precipitate retreat, the kingdom of Navarre was annexed for the moment to Arragon !

Scarcely had Ramirez secured this acquisition than his assistance was required by Ferdinand of Castile against his brother-in-law the king of Leon, who had possessed himself forcibly of the part of Castile bordering upon Mount Ocha, which Sancho, as we have already noticed, bequeathed to Ferdinand.

With the assistance of Ramirez, the Castilian monarch defeated his enemy in a pitched battle, in which the aggressor was killed. After his death the kingdom was annexed to Castile by the conqueror, who caused himself to be crowned in it, much against the wishes of his own subjects, the more thinking part of whom apprehended that Leon would thenceforward be absorbed into a province of Castile. In the person of Veremond ended the race of the Gothic kings, the immediate descendents of Pelagio, Alphonso and Ricardo.

It is foreign to my purpose in this concise History to trace minutely the progress of the Christian princes. My great object in bringing them thus forward, is merely to shew that their conduct was neither more pure nor exemplary than that of their Musulman neighbours. We find the same jealousy pervading both religions, the same injustice and violence, the same animosities, and the same want of union and principle.

But through the gloom diffused over Spain by these dark

and oppressive clouds, the mind is occasionally cheered by some flashes of magnanimity and benevolence. Such are the examples of Bennabad, king of Seville, and Almamon of Toledo, in whose courts two unfortunate monarchs, Alphonso of Leon, and Garcia of Galicia, had withdrawn, both dispossessed of their kingdoms by their brother Sancho. The Christian Sancho persecuted these brothers as his inveterate enemies, and the Moors, the approved inveterate enemies of the Christians, treated them as brothers.

Almamon in particular shewed the greatest sympathy for his royal guest. He assigned him not only a handsome establishment and a liberal pension, but continued to treat him on all occasions like a favoured son, till by the death of his unprincipled brother, the great impediment in the way of his birth-right was removed, and the passage to his throne again opened to him.

Alphonso was at first not a little embarrassed how to conduct himself when the happy revolution in his fortunes took place. He saw that before he could well assert his rights to Castile, it was necessary he should be safely delivered from Toledo, and how far could he be sure that the laws of hospitality and friendship would prevail over maxims of state policy? Or that Almamon might not detain his person, the more securely to extend his dominions on the side of Castile?

The Moor had certainly the most formidable of the Christian monarchs at this time in his possession, and might no doubt have exacted his own terms as the price of his ransom. But his high respect to the laws of hospitality raised him above such sordid considerations; and he scorned to treat him as an enemy, whom he had once recognized as a guest. On the contrary, he loaded him with presents and honoured him with the highest marks of favour and distinction, accompanying him himself as far on his route as Zamora, and offering unqualifiedly both his troops and treasures to facilitate his restoration.

Alphonso testified his sense of these obligations, by one of the first acts of his reign. He aided his benefactor against his enemy, the King of Cordova, and did this so effectually as completely to disable that monarch from renewing his aggressions.

After the death of Almamon, the grateful Castilian continued the same predilection and friendship for his son and successor Haccham. But the reign of this prince, unfortunately for his people, was of no duration, and at his death the crown of Toledo devolved to his brother Jabiah, or as others call him Haya, a prince in all respects his very counterpart. He is said, in short, not to have possessed one amiable quality; and from the very commencement of his reign, made himself equally obnoxious to all orders of his subjects, who were a mixture

of Moors and Christians. At length the hatred against him became so general, that two different monarchs were invited by his subjects to dispossess him of the crown, the Christians having recourse to Alphonso, and the Moors to the King of Badajos.

It was with much reluctance Alphonso brought himself to accede to the splendid proposal. The former bounties of his deceased benefactor, his hospitality, his presents, his resentment of his wrongs, his sympathy under his sufferings, and above all the joy he had manifested at his happy restoration: all these considerations pleaded most powerfully against the measure, and the sordid workings of ambition were for a while restrained by the silent admonitions of gratitude. At length it was suggested to him, that, what he hesitated to accept, had been offered to another, and that other not a Christian; and that, as the people were determined upon a change, in case of his refusal they would throw themselves upon his rival for protection, and thus the cause of Christianity be injured without being productive of any advantage to the son of his benefactor.

The latter consideration at length prevailed, and Alphonso accordingly obtained possession of Toledo without the smallest resistance. But in making the acquisition he still remembered the bounties of the good Almamon so far as to qualify

an injustice which he could not in sound policy avoid. He suffered his son to reign at Valencia, and bound himself by oath to protect the Moorish mosque at Toledo: an oath which he could not afterwards prevent the Christians from violating.

The Moors had held this kingdom three hundred and sixty years, from the year seven hundred and fourteen, to the year one thousand and eighty. After its surrender Alphonso assumed the title of Emperor of Toledo, and hence this city has been always distinguished by the epithets of imperial and royal.

The city of Toledo was said to have contained, about two centuries ago, upwards of two hundred thousand inhabitants. The number now does not exceed thirty thousand. The whole country is mountainous or hilly, and these hills are the very images of sterility; yet, under this forbidding and barren appearance, we find among the mountains many rich and beautiful meadows all well watered, in which the vines are seen attaching themselves to the trees in such a manner as if designedly to present so many natural bowers, to protect the traveller from the scorching heats of the sun. These spots are called Cignaroles. The roads to them are tedious; but those who surmount them are so amply compensated for their

patience, that it is not without great regret they bring themselves to quit these charming retreats.

After the death of Alphonso the kingdoms of Castile and Leon were again separated. But, though under different sovereigns, they furnished full employment to the Moors in the South of Spain, while in the North they were harrassed incessantly, and dispossessed of many of their strong cities, by the kings of Arragon and Navarre and the counts of Barcelona.

We cannot avoid noticing that it was about this period, that the celebrated Cid principally achieved his great conquests, and distinguished himself in the fields of glory.

Roderic Dias de Bivac or Bivar, surnamed the Cid, whose love for the fair Chimene, and unhappy quarrel with her father, the count de Gomez, has furnished matter for one of Corneille's best tragedies, was by birth a simple Castilian knight, equally destitute of consideration as of fortune. But such were his talents, so transcendent his virtues, both moral and political, that they quickly surmounted these adventitious defects, and exalted him suddenly in the political hemisphere as a star of the very first magnitude.

The Cid first attracted notice in the reign of Ferdinand the

First, king of Castile, about the middle of the eleventh century. On the death of Ferdinand, when Sancho the Second, who succeeded him, wished to deprive his sister Uraque of the city of Zamora, the Cid with a noble intrepidity pointed out the injustice of the act, demonstrating how far such an aggression must violate both the laws of honour and the ties of blood; for which offence he was banished by the impetuous Sancho. But Sancho could not long dispense with the talents of such a servant, and kings, like ordinary men, must sometimes forget affronts. He was therefore recalled from this first banishment very shortly after it had taken place.

When this Sancho, by whom he had been thus ungenerously treated, was afterwards murdered before the walls of Zamora, and the Castilians wished that Alphonso his successor, who was suspected of being accessory to the murder, should purge himself of the charge upon oath, the Cid was the only person who had the courage to demand this formality from the new sovereign. He not only proposed the oath, but proposed it at the very altar where he was crowned, insisting that it should be pronounced audibly, and accompanying his demand with strong imprecations upon him in case of perjury. We must naturally suppose that this insult could not easily be overlooked. He was shortly after banished a second time, though, as was given out, not for this offence.

Whatever may have been the motive for this harsh sentence, it only tended to advance his character the higher, and present it with additional lustre to the admiration of his country. It was in exile his career of glory commenced. It was then he exhibited prodigies of valour and generosity; that he soared above the most celebrated of his contemporaries, and eclipsed them far by the splendour and rapidity of his conquests. By these exploits he triumphed even over his master, who, either from envy of his prowess, or because he required his services elsewhere, found it necessary to recall and even affected to reinstate him in favour.

But this occasional lenity was neither sincere nor lasting, the Cid from his texture being but ill qualified to thrive in the hot-bed of a court. He was, therefore, scarcely recalled when he was banished the third time, and his loyalty again brought to the test by further insults and disgraces. But, like the purest of the metals, it remained proof against all assays, and, though twisted and tortured in a thousand different shapes, preserved its intrinsic characteristic value to the last. When he was recalled from exile, he abandoned his conquests with the same celerity he made them, to fly to the presence of his ungenerous persecutor. In disgrace he readily forgot all wrongs for the service of his master. When in favour he was equally ready to offend him by wholesome counsels, and the avowal of honest though unpalatable truths.

It was during his third exile that the Cid conquered Valencia, and made many other valuable acquisitions, over the whole of which he might with safety, and in right of conquest, have usurped to himself the full sovereignty. But his high sense of duty scorned to stoop to such sordid considerations, and he faithfully retained all his conquests in the name of his sovereign. Oh! proud pre-eminence of heroic virtue! In the faithful groupings of history, the character of the miscreant monarch is thrown into a kind of back ground. It is cast into the shade, and almost wholly eclipsed by the exalted and splendid virtues of the injured unalienated subject.

This hero died at Valencia, as full of years as glory, leaving three children; a son, who was killed in battle when young, and two daughters, Donna Elvira and Donna Sol, who married two princes of the House of Navarre; from one of whom, by a long train of alliances, are descended the Bourbons, who lately occupied the French and Spanish thrones.

While they were assisted by the Cid, the Christian princes were always successful against the common enemy. But within a few years after his death, which happened in 1099, the Moors of Andalousia, having changed masters, became for the moment as formidable as ever.

By the fall of Toledo, Seville had risen into great power, and

the kings of this country, the ancient sovereigns of Cordova, still held Estremadura and a considerable portion of Portugal. Bennabad, one of the best men of his day, was the then reigning monarch, and as he was the only enemy capable of disturbing the tranquillity of Castile, Alphonso the Sixth, the then king, to secure his alliance, had obtained his daughter Zaïde, in marriage, and with her several considerable places in dower. This union was productive of consequences directly the reverse of those intended by it. It produced a bloody war, which terminated in Bennabad's ruin. Events which are partly to be attributed to the jealousy of the neighbouring states, but more to some important changes which had recently taken place in Africa.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

FALL OF BENNABAD.—CONFEDERATION OF CHRISTIAN PRINCES.

AFRICA, after being dismembered by the Fatimite Caliphs from the empire of the East, had devolved to conquerors far more ferocious than the lions of its deserts.* Under these monsters it had groaned for nearly three centuries, when they were at length supplanted by the Almoravides, a family originally of Egyptian descent. Of these Joseph ben Tanassin, the second of the dynasty, founded the city and empire of Morocco. Joseph, being a prince of considerable military talents, and equal ambition, had scarcely established himself upon the throne, when he began to cast an invidious eye upon the possessions of his brethren in Spain, and to covet a participation of their spoils. If this was his wish, the alliance between Bennabad and Alphonso soon furnished a pretext for realizing it.

* Note (B).

Some writers pretend that Bennabad had formed a plan for annexing all Musulman Spain to the crown of Seville; but that as Alphonso, his son-in-law, could not, as a Christian, openly countenance this project, it was agreed between them, that Bennabad should solicit assistance from the Almoravide. Others pretend, that Joseph's assistance was required by the lesser states in the neighbourhood of Seville, who were justly alarmed at the close alliance between Bennabad and a Christian sovereign.

Perhaps the Almoravide was swayed by neither of these motives. At all events we have no occasion to resort to them, when we recollect, that, to a conqueror flushed with success, and not overburdened with scruples, the wealth of Spain, and its contiguity to his own dominions, were of themselves inducements sufficiently powerful.

Whatever the inducement may have been, we know that Joseph landed a considerable army on the coast of Andalusia, with which he surprised Ferdinand, and easily became master of Cordova. After this first success he proceeded to Seville, and was preparing to carry the city by assault, when the unfortunate Bennabad delivered himself and his one hundred children to the mercy of the Almoravide; hoping to screen his subjects from pillage by this voluntary surrender of his crown and liberty. But no sacrifice could soften the natural ferocity of his African conqueror. The barbarian loaded

the royal captive with irons, and fearing the many virtues which justly endeared him to his people, sentenced him to drag on the remnant of his miserable life in the gloom of an African prison, where his daughters, who had associated themselves to his misfortunes, were forced to depend on their own hard exertions, to obtain a scanty and precarious subsistence for their unhappy parent. In this miserable prison, the good Bennabad languished six years, no otherwise regretting his reverses than as his subjects were affected by them; and with no wish for life except as it continued him in the society and enjoyment of his family.

In his hours of painful solitude he composed some verses, which are still extant and in estimation. In these he endeavours to console his children, for the hard measure his benevolence had entailed upon them. Or, contemplating his past grandeur with true philosophic magnanimity, holds up his example, as a cautionary mirror, to such of his brother monarchs, as plume themselves too highly on the stability of their fortunes, and think, because they are kings, they are necessarily exempted from the ordinary casualties of humanity.

Joseph having thus mastered Cordova and Seville, was tempted to carry his arms against the other neighbouring states: and, so rapid was his progress, that the Moors began to cherish the hopes of retrieving their former glories, and ex-

tending once more their empire over the greater part of Spain. His successes, however, were too rapid, and his views too obvious, to escape the vigilance of the Christian Princes, and they very wisely suspended their own contests to unite with Alphonso against the common enemy. In this great undertaking they were seconded by many gallant warriors from motives of zeal and piety. Raymond of Burgundy and his kinsman Henry, both princes of the blood of France, accompanied by Raymond de St. Giles, count of Tholouse, and a crowd of other illustrious knights, crossed the Pyrennees to range themselves under the Castilian banners.

This powerful confederacy completely damped the ardor of the African prince. He withdrew his armies precipitately, abandoning all his conquests, and fled for safety to his native country. Alphonso gave his daughters in marriage to the Princes who had assisted him, in requital of their late services. Uraque, his eldest daughter, was bestowed upon Raymond of Burgundy, to whom she bore a son who afterwards ascended the throne of Castile. Theresa became the wife of Henry, bringing as her portion, the districts that had been or might be recovered in Portugal. This marriage laid the foundation of the Portuguese monarchy! Elvira was betrothed to the count of Tholouse, whom she accompanied to the holy wars, and who became afterwards the founder of some other states.

The encouragements dealt out by Alphonso to the knights and princes who had thus critically assisted him, drew crowds of other heroes to his standard, with whose assistance he possessed himself of Saragossa, and made other equally valuable acquisitions. Not long after this period, Alphonso, the son of Henry, who became afterwards the first king of Portugal, availed himself of a fleet of English, Germans and Flemings, on their way to the Holy Land, to lay siege to Lisbon, and this city being carried by assault, became, what we hope it will be once more, the capital of a rich and independent kingdom.

WHILE the Christian arms were thus extending in Portugal, the kings of Castile and Navarre were equally successful in Andalusia. The Moors, indeed, were harassed on all sides without being able to obtain any effectual assistance from the Almoravides in Africa. Joseph was successively employed at home, having to defend himself against a chief of the name of Tamin, who, while he affected to restore the true doctrine of Mahomet, was employing them in fact only as a kind of stalking-horse to his ambition. Tamin defeated the Almoravides without much difficulty, and having murdered as usual all his family, commenced in his person the new dynasty of the Almoravides.

The arts still continued to flourish at Cordova, notwithstanding all the wars and revolutions, to which that unfortunate city was exposed. They were not, it must be owned, as flour-

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

DISTRACTIONS IN AFRICA.—OF ABENZOAR AND AVERROES.

WHILE the Christian arms were thus extending in Portugal, the kings of Castile and Navarre were equally successful in Andalousia. The Moors, indeed, were harrassed on all sides without being able to obtain any effectual assistance from the Almoravide in Africa. Joseph was sufficiently employed at home, having to defend himself against a chief of the name of Tomru, who, while he affected to restore the true doctrines of Mahomet, was employing them in fact only as a kind of stalking-horse to his ambition. Tomru dethroned the Almoravide without much difficulty, and having murdered as usual all his family, commenced in his person the new dynasty of the Almohades.

The arts still continued to flourish at Cordova, notwithstanding all the wars and revolutions, to which that unfortunate city was exposed. They were not, it must be owned, as flou-

rishing as they had been under the fostering hand of Abdelzamin. But they still were patronized; and produced, in the twelfth century, many illustrious characters; among whom the skilful Abenzoar and the scientific Averroes have been justly distinguished.

Abenzoar* is said to have lived a complete century. He practised as a physician with much success, and left behind him many excellent treatises in pharmacy and medicine, which are still extant and still in estimation.

Averroes† did not yield to his contemporary in either of these branches of science, but was certainly superior to him in all others. He was not only an expert physician, but a lawyer, a commentator, a poet and philosopher, in all which various branches he acquired a reputation which succeeding ages have not hesitated to confirm. From the infinite variety of his studies and pursuits, his mind might be called a rich storehouse of knowledge, in which every article was so methodically arranged, as to be always at command and forthcoming on the shortest notice.

In his youth, though addicted to pleasure, he was always passionately fond of poetry. In his maturer age, he de-

* Note (B).

† Note (C).

stroyed most of the productions of his youthful muse, and applied himself to the law with so much assiduity as to be promoted to the station of a judge. This station he also quitted, at a more advanced period, for the study of physic, which he practised many years with the greatest success. Finally, towards the close, and to the end of his very useful life, he devoted himself wholly to philosophic studies. It was his genius that first inspired the Moors with a relish for Greek literature. He translated Aristotle from the original into Arabic with comments, and left behind him many valuable works both in philosophy and medicine. Thus he stands doubly recommended to his countrymen, since he was not only attentive to the preservation of life, but to the preservation of morals also, upon which every thing estimable in life unquestionably hinges.

But to return from this digression. Africa being rent and torn by the conflicts between her different tribes, was not now in a state to assist the Musulmans in Spain; of whose weakness the Christian princes did not fail to profit, so far as to extend their conquests on the side of Cordova. But though they gained some advantages daily, they were too much occupied by their own jealousies and divisions to effect any thing decisive. They wanted nothing but union. The game was in their hands, but they were deterred from playing it successfully by the want of this requisite principle. In fact they were

often divided without being sensible they were so, and though on emergencies, or in times of danger, they united, yet the immediate object of their union was no sooner attained, than they separated and became as jarring and discordant as ever.

The new kingdom of Portugal, founded principally by the valour of Alphonso, declared war against Leon. Arragon and Castile, after many fruitless conflicts among themselves, united against Navarre, which forced Sancho, the king of that petty state, to solicit aid from Africa. But the Almohade prince, to whom he applied, was too much occupied himself to afford him any effectual assistance. He sent him, however, the shadow of a succour under two brothers, the two Jacobs, which had no influence upon his fortunes. One of the brothers was defeated by the Portuguese almost on the instant of his arrival, and did not long survive his disaster. The other, who was destined to act against the Castilians, had better success, but, as some new factions had sprung up in Africa, he was forced not only to withdraw his army, but to abandon all his conquests to make sure of his retreat.

So many little contests were productive of no benefits either to the Moors or the Christians. Treaties were renewed repeatedly; but they were no sooner renewed than violated, each nation being always on the watch to recover by sur-

prize what one or the other but a few weeks preceding had formally renounced.

The Kings of Africa still continued to be regarded as the sovereigns of Andalousia. But their sovereignty was merely nominal, being only admitted when they themselves were at hand, or when their assistance was required, but despised when these principles no longer predominated.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

MAHOMET AL NAZIR.—CONFEDERACY OF THE CHRISTIAN
POWERS.—BATTLE OF TOLOSA.—MOORISH TACTICS.

SUCH was the state of affairs in Spain, when Mahomet Al Nazir, fourth Prince of the Almohade dynasty, ascended the throne in Africa. The distractions in that country had been quieted antecedent to his accession, either by the death or secession of the Almoravides. Mahomet therefore having nothing at home to occupy his attention, turned, like his predecessors, his thoughts towards Spain, projecting the recovery of those provinces, which Tarik and Moussar by their valour had originally acquired. He determined therefore upon what he politically called a holy war against the Christians; and his intentions were no sooner avowed, than warriors resorted to him in such multitudes, that he was enabled in the course of a very few weeks to cross the Streights at the head of a most formidable army. This force on its arrival in Spain was further augmented by the resort of the Spanish Moors, who rushed

from all parts to join the invaders, partly from resentment of recent injuries ; but more from rooted hereditary antipathy to the Christians. Being thus encouraged, Mahomet began his march for Castile, at the head, as we are told, of six hundred thousand Moors, all eager for action and confident of victory.

These formidable preparations could not escape the vigilance of the king of Castile. Having seen the storm gathering, he had taken the requisite precautions to guard against its fury, and had accordingly solicited and obtained succours from most of the European potentates. In aid of his exertions the sovereign Pontiff had been applied to by Roderic Archbishop of Toledo ; and the holy Father was not sparing of his indulgences. The zealous Archbishop however did not chuse to trust wholly to the efficacy of these weapons, and had therefore resorted to arms of a more active nature. On his return through France from the Holy See, he had preached to the people in the different cities through which he passed, and, by his sacred eloquence, acquired many strenuous champions for the defence of the Cross. More than fifty thousand crusaders sallied out of France and Italy to enrol themselves under the Castilian banners. Peter the Second of Arragon and Sancho of Navarre put themselves at the head of their respective forces. All Christian Spain, in short, was animated with one common sentiment and feeling, and embarked in the glorious struggle with

a degree of zeal and unanimity which had never before been witnessed. Indeed if we advert to the danger to which Christianity was then exposed, a danger unknown to it since the days of the Cid, it must be admitted, that both enthusiasm and unanimity were never so requisite as at the present crisis.

This may be considered as the æra of religious frenzy or enthusiasm, under whose impulsive ardour the Christian warriors of Europe, alike abandoned kindred, country, friends, in short all the most endearing ties, to unite in one compact confederacy, to make one grand, decisive effort, for the subversion of infidelity.

The Christian army came up with the enemy at a place called the las Navas de Toloza, a very strong position at the foot of the Sierra Morena; so they call that chain of mountains which separates New Castile from Andalousia. Mahomet had seized all the defiles through which he thought it possible for the Christians to attempt a passage, hoping thus either to compel them to fall back by cutting off their supplies, or to crush them in the passage if they ventured to advance. A project, which, if it had succeeded, must certainly have reduced the Christians to very great streights, if it had not occasioned their total ruin.

But the Spaniards were providentially relieved from this.

dilemma, when they least expected it, by the seasonable intervention of a shepherd, who, being perfectly acquainted with all the turns and windings of the mountains, pointed out a defile which had escaped the notice of either army, and thus enabled them to advance. Though this defile was extremely intricate, and indeed hardly practicable, they had no alternative but to attempt it; and after scrambling over rocks almost inaccessible, through many circuitous, out-of-the-way tracts, and torrents greatly tremendous and discouraging, they attained at length the summit of the mountain. The Christian army passed two days on this eminence in preparing for battle by prayer, confession and the sacrament, and at the expiration of this term presented themselves, as if by enchantment, to the view of the astonished Musulmans. Of these pious preparations the princes furnished the example, and the priests who swarmed in the camp, having in corroboration of these examples fortified the army by general absolution, prepared with their wonted zeal to accompany their leaders into the hottest of the action.

The Christian army was formed in three divisions, each division being commanded by one of the kings. Alphonso placed himself in the center, having under him the knights of the newly instituted orders of Calatrava and St. James*.

* Note (D).

Roderic, Archbishop of Toledo, the ocular witness and historian of this great event, stood at the side of the king preceded by the Great Cross, the chief standard of the army. Sancho with his Navarrese commanded the right wing, and Peter at the head of the Arragonians the left. The French croisés, which had been considerably thinned by the desertion of many of their body to whom the intense heat of the sun was insupportable, were led on by Arnold, bishop of Narbonne, and Theobald Blazon, count of Poitevin. Thus formed, the Christians descended into the valley which separated the two armies.

The Moors on the other hand covered the country as usual with their innumerable legions, but as usual they were formed without either skill or order. Their principal dependence was on their cavalry, amounting to one hundred thousand. This cavalry was certainly excellent; but their infantry was totally the reverse. It was unaccustomed to war, and, being assembled in haste, both badly armed and badly disciplined. Mahomet placed himself on an eminence, near the centre of his army, from whence he commanded a view of the whole field. He was guarded by a strong palisade of iron chains and a select body of dismounted cavalry, and in the middle of this inclosure he waited the issue of the battle, with the Alcoran in one hand and his sword in the other, the hill on

which he stood, being further surrounded by all his bravest squadrons.

It was against this eminence the Christians directed their first assault, which was made with such impetuosity that the Moors began to give way. But they were quickly rallied, and returned so furiously to the charge, that their assailants were, in their turn, thrown into some disorder, and retired rather precipitately. Alphonso, who signalized himself greatly in this battle, became seriously alarmed at this unexpected change in the appearance of the field, and turning to the archbishop, who had attended him every where with the cross, exclaimed, "It is here we must die." "No, Sir," replied the reverend warrior, "it is here we must live and triumph." These words were no sooner heard by the brave ecclesiastic who carried the cross, than he precipitated himself with his sacred standard into the midst of the enemy, where he was bravely supported by the archbishop and the king.

The battle now became desperate and decisive. Roused by the examples of their gallant leaders, the Castilians rush forward to protect their standard and their sovereign. At the same instant the kings of Navarre and Arragon, already victorious in their divisions, unite against the hill. The Moors are assailed on all sides by Castilians, Arragonians and

Navarrese. At length, after a most obstinate and desperate resistance, the brave King of Navarre cuts his way through the enemies squadrons, arrives at the inclosure, and forces the iron chains.* This gallant manœuvre decided the fate of the battle. Mahomet perceiving his principal defence give way, quits the field precipitately, and the Moors, no longer animated by his presence, disperse in every direction. Nothing could now withstand the enthusiastic valour of the Spaniards. Thousands of Musulmans were sacrificed to their fury, and at the end of the immense carnage, the Archbishop of Toledo, assisted by the other bishops militant, chaunted a Te Deum on the field of battle, in the presence of the triumphant sovereigns.

Such is a summary of the much celebrated battle of Toloza; a battle worthy to be recorded, not only from its importance to the cause of Christianity, but because it gives us some idea of Moorish tactics; which, in fact, consisted in little more than joining battle with an enemy with all possible impetuosity, each man fighting for himself, and committing his success to his own personal strength and resolution.

It must be confessed that the Spaniards in this age were not much greater adepts than their adversaries in the art of

* Note (E).

war. Yet they had certainly one material advantage; their infantry was even then accustomed to resist a charge in a body, a practice which they brought afterwards to the greatest perfection; while the infantry of the Moors, being strangers to this practice, could scarcely ever act to such effect as to recommend itself to even ordinary estimation.

But if the Moorish infantry was of no account, its defects were amply compensated by the cavalry, which was, beyond all doubt, extremely formidable. The men were selected from the best families; they were mounted on the fleetest and most beautiful chargers, which, being trained from infancy to the horse exercise, they managed with uncommon dexterity, darting upon those that opposed them with the velocity of lightning. They managed both the sabre and lance with skill and activity. When pressed in action they would fly, or affect to fly, with the greatest swiftness; but they would rally again as swiftly, and often restore a battle when it seemed on the point of being irretrievably lost.

Yet over this cavalry, excellent as it certainly was, the Christians had one signal advantage. They were cased completely in steel, while their opponents, comparatively, were almost unarmed, their heads being only protected by steel, and their stomachs by ordinary breastplates. With respect to their infantry, it may be said to have been almost naked,

having no defensive armour but their breastplates, and no offensive but their pikes. Hence it is reasonable to infer that in battle, but, above all, in flight, they must always have suffered considerably. A conclusion which may lessen in some degree that appearance of exaggeration which the details of this battle carry with them. Yet, with all the allowances that can be made, these details are certainly incredible, notwithstanding the authorities by which they have been transmitted.

Historians assure us, that the Christians in the battle of Toloza, destroyed upwards of two hundred thousand Moors, with the loss to themselves of only one hundred and fifteen men. That the loss on their side was excessive, there can be no doubt, since this memorable battle seems to have crippled the powers of the Kings of Morocco so completely as to have forced them from that time to moderate their views, so far as to renounce all hopes of the future reduction of the Spaniards. These latter, at all events, have always regarded this victory as of the last importance, since the battle of Toloza has not only formed the subject of many of their choicest songs and legendary tales, but is, even at this day, commemorated at Toledo with the utmost parade of pomp, triumph and exultation.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

DEATH OF MAHOMET.—EMPIRE OF MOROCCO DIVIDED.—

STATE OF THE MOORISH POWER IN SPAIN, AFTER
THE BATTLE OF TOLOZA.—JAMES THE FIRST OF AR-
RAGON AND FERDINAND OF CASTILE.

THE battle of Toloza proved more immediately fatal to Mahomet than to the Moors of Andalousia. These retired into their principal cities, and being strengthened by the remnants of the African army which had betaken themselves to the same shelter, they were secured for the present against all assaults. Indeed, the Christian princes seem to have been too well satisfied with their late transcendent good fortune to wish to molest them. Instead of following up the blow, they separated, contenting themselves with seizing such of the cities as lay immediately in their route.

To Mahomet his disappointment was productive of far different consequences. He was despised by his own subjects,

and forsaken by his kindred and friends, and not only lost all his influence in Spain, but had the humiliation of seeing his subjects in that quarter throw off their allegiance and divide into so many independent sovereignties. These changes are supposed to have hastened his death, and with him perished all the fortunes of the Almohades. Some of these princes indeed succeeded him, but the same trials, the same fatality awaited all, each being precipitated from the throne almost at the moment he was advanced to it. The empire of Morocco, after being long agitated by these severe and reiterated shocks, fell at length to pieces, and out of its scattered remnants were constructed the three distinct kingdoms of Tunis, Fez and Tremec  n. But these kingdoms, being rivals from the cradle, only served to multiply, and perpetuate, the atrocities by which the pages of African history have been uniformly blackened.

Some dissensions in Castile at this period gave the Moors of Spain a little leisure to respire. Their numbers were still great and their power formidable. They were still in possession of Valencia, Murcia, Andalousia and Grenada, together with a part of Algarvez and the whole of the Baleares; islands then but imperfectly known to the Christians of the continent! These states had been parcelled out among as many sovereigns, the principal of whom was Benhoud, a descendant of the ancient kings of Saragossa, who by his courage and talents

had acquired almost the whole south east district of Spain. The kings of Valencia and Seville ranked next to Benhoud. With respect to the savage who reigned at Majorca, he could be deemed nothing better than a captain of pirates.

Such was the state of Moorish Spain, when two illustrious characters succeeded at the same time to the two first Christian thrones, and, having allayed the troubles in their kingdoms, which had raged during their respective minorities, determined to combine their forces against the common enemy. These heroes were James the First of Arragon, and Ferdinand the Third of Castile. Both were equally intent on glory, and had fortunately no rival interests to distract their councils, or divert them from the course of their policy. In addition to the courage and activity of his father, James inherited brighter talents and was far more fortunate. Ferdinand was a politic and valiant prince, whom history has exalted to the rank of heroes, and the church, either from zeal or adulation, to the number of its Saints. He was nephew to Blanche of Castile, queen of France, and cousin german to St. Louis, whom he resembled no less by his piety and valour, than by the wisdom of his laws.

The Castilian directed his arms chiefly on the side of Andalusia, where he exacted homage from most of the Musulman princes, and made many valuable acquisitions. Among these

was the original Alhambra, which he found forsaken on his approach, the affrighted inhabitants betaking themselves to Grenada, where they founded a new city, which they named after the one they had forsaken, and which, as we shall see in the sequel, became highly celebrated.

While Ferdinand was gathering laurels in this part of Spain, James embarked for the Baleares, and having landed at Majorca defeated a considerable body of Moors on the shore of that island. After this first success he laid siege to the capital, which was carried by assault; the royal knight, who claimed precedence in every danger, being the first to enter the breach. The taking of the capital was followed by the surrender of the island, and the expulsion of the Musulman monarch.

Having succeeded in this expedition, James projected another of still greater importance, the reduction of Valencia, which, after the death of the Cid, had again relapsed under the dominion of the infidels. This beautiful kingdom, on which nature seems to have lavished her choicest productions, but which man, as if to render his ingratitude unequivocal, has delighted in contaminating with blood, was governed at this time by Zeith, brother of that Mahomet Almohade who was defeated at Toloza. The rights of this Zeith to the crown were then contested by a powerful faction, which wished to substitute another prince of the name of Zean in his stead; so

that, when James invaded this kingdom, he found the two claimants contending strenuously for a prize which he was intent upon arresting from both. Under pretence of assisting Zean, the Arragonian entered the kingdom of Valencia, and, having vanquished his enemy in several different actions, and secured many of his principal towns, proceeded to invest his capital.

Zeith being thus closely pressed, solicited the protection of the king of Andalousia, whose dominions were then actually invaded, and his capital threatened by the overbearing arm of the Castilian.

Benhoud, the king of Cordova, was justly endeared to his people and to the Moors in general, being regarded by them as the main prop of the Musulman power in Spain. He was too politic not to perceive how deeply his own fate was implicated in that of Valencia, and, though himself tottering on his throne, and every where beset by the Castilians, he had determined to exert himself for the defence of that city. But while he was intent on this object, most unfortunately for the Valencians and his own subjects, he was treacherously murdered by one of his lieutenants, and by his death, the kings of Arragon and Castile released from the only enemy then capable of contending with them.

The death of Benhoud produced an immediate and fatal change among the Cordovians. Their courage forsook them entirely, all their energies abandoned them, and unmindful of their former glory and the value of the stake which was then contended for, they abjectly proposed a capitulation, of the terms of which the conqueror was not afterwards scrupulously observant. He left the inhabitants their lives, indeed, but he left them nothing more, compelling them to renounce their possessions and their country. Thousands of the unhappy people went weeping out of that superb city, which for a series of five hundred and twenty years, they had been taught to look up to as the bulwark of their independency, the asylum of their elegant arts, and the sacred sanctuary of their religion. Their splendid palaces, their spacious and elegant gardens, their solemn temples, and above all their grand mosque, which had been embellished by five centuries of labour and expence, alike attracted their parting regrets, and overwhelmed them with anguish and despair. The victorious soldiery, to whom they were compelled to renounce these elegances, the objects of their just veneration, were wholly insensible to the value of the recent acquisition. They were far better pleased to destroy than to possess. And Ferdinand, who had grasped so eagerly at the talisman of Orosmanes, found his hands after all filled only with feathers. He found himself the master of a solitary deserted kingdom, to which he was obliged to attract settlers by particular remunerations,

and even to compel the continuance of part of his own soldiery, who murmured loudly at being thus forced to exchange the barren rocks of Leon, for the palaces of Caliphs and the paradise of the world!*

The grand mosque of Abdelzamin was transformed into a cathedral, and Cordova became dignified by her prebends and bishops. But when has the bigotry of misguided bishops and prebends been found to produce wealth, advance population, or conduce essentially to the scanty portion of human happiness? Cordova, at this day, retains only a few wretched reliques of its once celebrated grandeur and magnificence. Amidst the gloom of her mouldering walls, her ruined towers and dismantled pillars, not one object presents itself, not one cheerful ray beams out to brighten reflection, and cheer the contemplative traveller on his way:

“ Yet time has seen, that lifts the low,

“ And level lays the lofty brow,

“ Has seen the broken pile complete;

“ Big with the pageantry of state;

“ (But, transient are the smiles of fate !)”

Valencia soon shared the fate of her kindred city. While Zean, who had dethroned his brother Zeith, was besieged by the Spaniards without the walls, he had to combat the faction

* Note (I).

of his brother within. And to complete his misfortunes, some fresh troops which the King of Tunis had sent to his relief, the only ones upon which he could calculate, were panic-struck, and fled at the first sight of the Christians.

Being thus crippled by a rival faction, thus cut off from all hopes of relief, and being disheartened by the fate of Cordova, Zean had no resource but to offer to become the vassal of the Arragonian monarch, and do homage for his crown. To these terms the haughty conqueror refused to accede. Nothing short of an unconditional surrender could satisfy his lofty views; and to this condition, painful and humiliating as it was, the unhappy Musulman had no alternative but to submit.

Upwards of fifty thousand Moors quitted Valencia, carrying with them their treasures, and, among these, the most valuable of all treasures, their population. James was so far faithful to his engagements, as to protect them against the rapacity of his soldiers, who, being apprised of the value, could not but repine at the loss of so rich a booty.

After these rapid and brilliant successes, nothing apparently remained to arrest the career of the Spaniards, or retard the complete recovery of their country. Seville, the only city of apparent importance that remained, was threatened by the arms of the triumphant Ferdinand, and all the fortunes of

the Moors seemed to be staked upon this single cast. But their condition was not yet so desperate as it appeared. For at this crisis a new state burst into existence, which shone forth awfully for two centuries, like an immense comet, and was destined to impose further and Herculean labours upon the over-confident Spaniards.

APPENDIX

TO THE

THIRD BOOK.

NOTE (B). *Than the tygers, &c.*

THE history of Africa has exhibited through all ages little more than one dark and disgusting scene of indomitable ferocity. The reader, if possessed of tolerable humanity, shudders at the contemplation of any single page. And if he could divest himself of that pride which is unfortunately too much a bar to all improvement, that pride too inherent in our species, which induces man to confine every thing good and great exclusively to his own country, and to depreciate and undervalue others in proportion, he would be almost induced to think the world one great receptacle of tygers, and of these his own species the most ferocious.

Amidst the swarm of African Princes, Ibn Ishac of the tribe of the Agliabites deserves particularly to be pointed out to detestation. This savage not only murdered his eight brothers, but rendered his depravity still more notorious, if possible,

by murdering his own children. The mother of the monster contrived for some time by stratagem to screen sixteen of his daughters, by as many different mothers, from his fury, all of whom the inhuman father had ordered for execution. She began, however, not long after this event, to reflect upon what she had done, and to think it advisable to secure a pardon, for this her meritorious disobedience. She accordingly availed herself of an interval, when her son was lamenting the death of these daughters, to confess what she had done, and throw herself and those she had protected on his mercy.

The tyrant at first appeared softened by the communication. He ordered all his children into his presence, and caressed them with every mark of tenderness and affection. This scene so overcame his humane mother, who claimed the merit of it exclusively to herself, that, in the fullness of her joy, she retired to offer up her thanks to heaven for this miraculous alteration as she thought in the nature of her son. But behold! within an hour, a little hour after this affecting scene, while the tender parent was yet giving vent to the effusions of her gratitude; she was presented by the eunuchs with the heads of her sixteen grand-children.

Many similar traits, all equally attested by historians, might be given of this execrable Ishac. But what is unaccountable, and, if we were not persuaded "there is another and a better world," would be incredible, is, that this wretch was successful in all his wars, that he enjoyed a very long reign; and that, at last, he died quietly in his bed of one of the ordinary diseases incidental to old age.

But why dwell upon these antiquated excesses? Equal scenes of horror have been exhibited in our day by Muley Abdallah, the father of Sidi Mahomet, king of Morocco. This wretch attempting one day to cross a river was in danger of being drowned, but rescued from his fate by the fidelity of one of his slaves. The poor negroe was so pleased with his success that he could not conceal his transports in the presence of his master. Muley, who observed him, waited with the greatest composure till he recovered his usual tranquillity, then, drawing his sword, "Behold," he cried, "this vile Musulman, who presumes to think that God has need of his assistance to prolong the life of a Cheriff." Saying this he coolly cut off the head of his preserver.

The same Muley had a trusty slave who had long served him, and to whom the savage seemed strongly attached. In one of his lucid intervals, he advised this slave to accept a present of two thousand drachmas, and withdraw from him entirely, lest, as he himself avowed, he might be tempted to treat him as he had done so many others. The faithful domestic refused the money, and falling at his feet, declared he would rather perish by the hand of his kind master, so he called him, than abandon his service. It is almost needless to add that he met the fate which his excessive credulity merited; within a few days after this affecting scene, without any apparent reason except his unaccountable thirst for blood, a thirst which regularly redoubled upon him at intervals, Muley dispatched his faithful slave with a blow of his musket, reminding him at the time, with the greatest composure, how injudiciously he had acted in slighting his advice.

NOTE (C). *Abenzoar*.

ABENZOAR, or Avenzoar, was descended from a noble family at Seville, in which city he practised with the greatest reputation as a physician. His father and grandfather had also followed this profession; and the large fortune he inherited from them, placed him above the necessity of practising for profit. He therefore took no fees either from the poor or from industrious mechanics, though he never declined them from princes or great men. He lived to a great age, enjoying good health to the last, and, as he began to practise between his twentieth and thirtieth year, he must certainly have had as much experience as any of his contemporaries. He published two treatises, on diet, and on pharmacy. This latter work was so much esteemed, that, in 1280, it was translated into Hebrew, and has been since translated from that language into Latin by Paravicinus, whose translation ran through many editions.

NOTE (D). *Averroes*.

AVERROES, son of the Judge of Cordova, was educated in Africa. He first translated Aristotle into the Arabian language, and thence into Latin, and his translation was for a long time the only one in use. His other works on the Globes, and the Res Medica, are still held in estimation among the learned. He was ranked, not without reason, among the first of the Arabian philosophers, a race of men rarely very

numerous where bigots or prophets predominate. Persons of this cast, like certain noxious trees, rarely permitting any salutary plants to prosper within the reach of their exhalations.

The indifference which Averroes affected for all religions, his own not excepted, drew upon him the vengeance not only of the priesthood, but of all denominations of fanatics, to whose malevolence he is said to have fallen a martyr. Articles of accusation were tendered against him to the Emperor Henry of Morocco. In consequence of this prosecution, he was condemned to do public penance at the gates of the Mosque, where he was exposed to the disgusting humiliation of receiving in his face the spittle of all those who came, or pretended to come, to pray for his conversion. To this sentence he resigned himself with the utmost composure, exclaiming all the while, with an energy superior to the mean and little insults of human malice, "Oh let me live and die with the temper of a philosopher." He was taken off at Morocco, anno 1206.

NOTE (E). *St. James and Calatrava.*

THE order of St. James of the Sword, as it is called, was instituted in 1170, in the reign of Ferdinand the Second, king of Leon and Galicia. It took its rise from the incursions of the Moors, and was intended to protect the pilgrims who were accustomed to resort to Compostella, to visit the sepulchre of St. James. The order was confirmed in 1175 by a Bull of Pope Alexander the Third. Don Pedro Ferdinand de

Fuentos Escalada was the first Grand Master. He died in 1184, after having governed the order thirteen years.

The habit of ceremony of the knights of St. James is a white mantle with a red Cross on the breast. This Cross has the form of a sword, powdered with fleurs de Lys along the pommel and handle. The knights in ordinary wear a medal with a red sword at the button hole. They made at first no other vows than those of conjugal chastity, poverty and obedience; but since 1652, they have added a fourth—to maintain and defend the immaculate Conception. This order had twenty-seven Commanderies assessed in Castile and Leon, which produced a revenue of two hundred and seventy two thousand ducats.

The order of Calatrava was instituted 1158, during the reign of Sancho the Third, under Raymond Fitero and David Velas, two monks, who made a vow to defend Calatrava, a city of New Castile, on the Guadiana, when the Moors threatened to besiege it. The king was so pleased with this vow, that he gave the city and its territory to Fitero and his order, and knighted them.

The knights wear a red Cross upon their habits. Pope Alexander the Third confirmed the institution. The title of Grand was in 1522 annexed to the Crown of Castile, and, from being elective, was made hereditary, by a Bull of Adrian the Sixth. The knights bear for arms the Cross of the order gules, in a field argent, with two entraves sable at the foot of the Cross. The habit of ceremony is a large white mantle,

having, on the left side, a red cross sprinkled with fleurs de Lys. Since the year 1540, at which time they obtained permission to marry, no other vows are exacted than those of obedience, poverty, and conjugal chastity.

NOTE (F). *Forces the iron chains, &c.*

It was Sancho the Eighth, surnamed the Strong, who acquired such glory in this action: And it was in commemoration of his exploits on this day, (of the chains he forced through), that he assumed, in addition to the arms of Navarre, chains d'or upon a field gules.

NOTE (G). *The paradise, &c.*

CORDOVA is commanded by a chain of mountains which preserve a perpetual verdure. The walls of this city are washed by the Guadalquivir. It was known to the ancients by the names of Corduba and Colonia patricia. The former site is filled up with half ruined buildings and the scattered reliques of its ancient mosque.

All who have written upon this city call it the Cradle of Genius. In the first ages after its foundation it had an university in which the sciences were cultivated. Under the Romans this university was celebrated for the study of philosophy, morality and eloquence, and even a great professorship was annexed to it; in their days we find among its best produc-

tions, the names of Gallio, Lucanus Acilius, ancestor of the poet of that name, Portius Ladro, Menalus, master of the elder Seneca, Seneca the historian, author of the history which passes under the name of Florus, Lucan the poet, and Seneca the tutor of Nero.

The Moors preserved to the university the reputation it had acquired under the Romans. Among their illustrious élèves we find Avenpace and Algazel, Ahalbohava and Ali Aben Ragel, Abenzual, surnamed the Sage, Albelmarcar, Abramo, Rashez, Almanzor and Aben Regid.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

BOOK THE FOURTH.



FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY, TO THE TOTAL EXPULSION
OF THE MOORS FROM SPAIN.



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CHAPTER THE FIRST.

ORIGIN OF THE KINGDOM OF GRENADA.

THE rapid and brilliant successes of the Christian monarchs, but above all the taking of Cordova, spread general consternation among the Musulmans. When they beheld the cross displayed upon the minarets of the grand mosque, they abandoned themselves to despair, considering this profanation as nothing less than the subversion of their empire. Yet their situation was neither desperate nor irretrievable. They still possessed Seville, Murcia, and the little kingdom of Algarvez, and the coasts and ports in the South of Spain, and above all had an earnest of ample protection in the gigantic arm of Grenada*. But to them all these possessions now appeared no better than so much dust in the balance. Cordova, their holy city, the western rival of Meccha, had fallen into the hands of the unbelievers, and what ablution or what penance

* Note (A).

could cleanse them from the effects of this profane and deadly contamination?

Grenada at this period was governed by Mahomet Ebn Saïd of the tribe of Alhamar, originally from Caffa on the borders of the Red Sea. It is said, that Alhamar was by birth but a simple shepherd, who, having been accidentally present at a battle, became ever after impatient of the dull uniformity of the pastoral life, and was tempted to exchange his crook for the faulchion; to which exchange he owed his elevation to the throne. Incidents of this kind are not uncommon in history; but they frequently occurred among the Moors.

It is of little consequence to what source true greatness traces its origin, "to whom related, or by whom begot." Alhamar was assisted in his pretensions to the crown by a powerful auxiliary whom he had called in, in aid of his own merits. This was a kind of prophetic priest called a Santon, who most seasonably foretold that he was to be a king, and whose prediction, like many others, led to its own verification.

The new king, who was not inferior in talents to Benhoud, justly regarded himself as the last prop of the Musulman establishments in Spain. And the persecutions to which his countrymen had been exposed, and the dangers which seemed

daily to be threatening more immediately his own states, determined him to found a city, which might, in some degree, replace Cordova, and present a solid barrier to the impetuosity of the Christian incroachments, and he accordingly founded the city of Grenada.

This city is built upon two declivities at the foot of the Sierra Morena or Snowy Mountain, having the benefit of two rivers, one of which intersects and the other surrounds it. On the summit of these declivities Alhamar had erected two fortresses, one called Albazin, the other Alhambra in honour of the inhabitants of the Old Alhambra, who, as we have already stated, had betaken themselves thither after the loss of their proper city. This last town soon became a considerable city of itself, the original settlers having been recruited by fresh accessions of the Moors, whom Ferdinand expelled from Baëza, and of such as had forsaken Valencia, Cordova, and the other reduced places.

Being thus suddenly augmented by the adventitious acquisition of such an immense population, Grenada may be said to have burst forth in a state of complete maturity from its very birth. This city was upwards of three leagues in length. Its ramparts were flanked by 1030 towers, and the inhabitants no less brave than numerous, and thus all things seemingly conspired not only to promise permanence to her independency,

but to recommend and justify her pretensions to sovereignty. Her situation was both healthy and temperate, and perhaps one of the most luxuriant and delightful in the world, the whole circumjacent country conveying the idea of a perfect terrestrial paradise. The famous Vega or plain, which forms a kind of bason of about 20 leagues in length, by eight in breadth, is sheltered by the mountains of Elvira and Sierra Nevada on the North, and on the other sides by an amphitheatre of lesser mountains, all decorated with mulberry trees, oranges, citrons, vines and olives. It is watered by five small rivers, and an infinitude of springs which serpentine along meadows of perpetual verdure, through groves of orange trees, fields of wheat and flax, plantations of the sugar cane, and forests of the stately oak.

All these productions, so varied, so delicious, and so valuable, required in this climate but little culture or trouble to bring them to perfection. The soil, a stranger to the forbidding inactivity of winter, is in a state of constant vegetation ; and the winds that descend regularly from the mountains, as if expressly to qualify the sultry heats of the summer, and preserve a pleasing temperature, while they assist respiration and preserve health, protect and revive the flowers, with which Nature in her bounty has bedizened this her great master-piece. Vegetation is every where so active, that buds, blossoms, and fruits are seen upon the same tree at one and the same time,

as if contending for pre-eminence in gratitude, and striving which best should beautify the spot that produced them.

Is it not painful to reflect that it is here, in this celebrated Vega, which no description can embellish, no pencil faithfully represent—in which Nature seems to have exhausted all her choicest treasures for the gratification of man;—is it not, I ask, painful to reflect that it is on this very spot that more human blood has been unthankfully lavished than in any other of almost tenfold magnitude on our globe? Yes, it is here, it is here that for more than two centuries the most ferocious barbarities were practised by nation against nation, city against city, and man against man. Insomuch that there is not a corner in which the spirit of desolation has not rioted, in which whole harvests have not been destroyed in an instant, whole villages or towns reduced to ashes, and the soil alike manured with the mangled reliques of Moorish and Christian victims. Grenada, like hapless beauty, has been ruined by the transcendency of her own charms. Had she been less attractive, she had probably escaped contamination.

Exclusive of her much vaunted Vega, itself alone a source of fertility almost inexhaustible, Grenada contained fourteen large cities, and more than one hundred smaller ones, besides towns and villages without number. Its extent from Lorca to

Gibraltar, which was not taken from the Moors till some time after the period we are treating of, was more than eighty leagues. The width more than thirty, measuring from Cambal to the sea. Her mountains produced gold, silver, amethysts, granites, and all the marbles. Of these the Apulxares, the most distinguished, form a province of themselves, and furnished the Grenadian monarchs with treasures far more precious in the estimation of sound philosophy, than her collective mines. They furnished them with men, with men active and laborious, with expert farmers, with brave and indefatigable warriors. Finally, as the ports of Almeria, Malaga and Algeziras invited, and may be said to have commanded to a certain extent the trade of Europe and Africa, these ports were become almost exclusively the grand depository of the commerce of the two seas.

Such was Grenada!

Mahomet Al Hamar, who may be called the founder of this kingdom, tried various experiments to unite all the Musulmans in Spain under one sceptre. But the little province of Murcia*, that of Algarvez, governed by its native princes, and above all the great republic of Seville, refused his

* Note (B).

proffered policy. Each of these states was intent upon defending its independency, and yet all refused to unite with the only power that was really able to defend it. An infatuation which enabled the Spaniards to attack them separately, and crush the whole of them in succession!

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

FALL OF SEVILLE.—REVENUES AND FORCES OF THE GRENADIAN SOVEREIGNS.

THOUGH Alhamar, at the commencement of his reign, gained many advantages over the Castilians, yet he could not turn them to any considerable account. On the contrary, the unsettled state of his kingdom, and the disturbances artfully fomented by the Castilians, forced him to submit to an humiliating peace. He agreed to do homage to Ferdinand for his crown, to pay him a certain annual tribute, to furnish him in war with a stipulated quota of troops, and, finally to deliver up the strong fortress of Jaën into the hands of his dangerous rival, as a pledge for the performance of his covenant.

The politic Ferdinand left Grenada thus in peace, that he might more successfully direct his arms against Seville, of which city he had long projected the conquest. . The city had at this time become a kind of republic, governed by military

magistrates. Its position near the mouth of the Guadalquivir, its climate, and above all its known opulence, rendered it one of the most desirable acquisitions in all Spain.

Ferdinand was too well informed of the value of his prize to abandon it hastily. But as he foresaw a desperate resistance, he was careful, antecedent to the commencement of hostilities, to secure most of the strong posts in the neighbourhood, and to station a considerable fleet off the entrance of the Guadalquivir, expressly to convince the inhabitants, that they could have no prospect of relief from their African brethren.

Notwithstanding these precautions, the siege continued twelve full months. The inhabitants, who were numerous, defended themselves both bravely and with great skill, and though visited by famine and the horrors attendant upon it, would probably have frustrated all the efforts of their assailants, if Ferdinand had not availed himself of his recent treaty, to summon the King of Grenada to his assistance; a summons which this latter did not think fit to decline. His arrival sealed the doom of the city.* The inhabitants, who were now wholly at the mercy of the conqueror, were forced to accept such terms as he chose to dictate; and Alhamar

* Note (C).

returned to Grenada, with the painful humiliation of having conducted to the ruin of his countrymen, and the aggrandizement of his dangerous rival.

Ferdinand was more pious than politic in the use he made of this victory. He was satisfied to possess the casket, without adverting to the best treasure it contained, for he retained the city, but cast off the inhabitants; who, to the amount of one hundred thousand, betook themselves to Grenada, now become the last asylum of the Moors. Soon after the fall of Seville, Algarvez was reduced by the Portuguese monarch, and Murcia, whose interests should have been inseparable from those of Grenada, became an easy prey to the Castilians.

The treaty which had been concluded between Alhamar and Ferdinand, was carefully adhered to during the life of this latter. Mahomet, however, knew that he could not calculate upon any long continuance of harmony between the two nations, and had therefore wisely profited of this interval of tranquillity to compact and consolidate his power.

It is not easy to appreciate the revenues of the Grenadian monarch, or to ascertain the various sources from which these revenues were drawn, the value of Arabian money being, in our time, but imperfectly ascertained. The monarch, we know, was entitled to a seventh part of the product of the land,

and received on the herds and flocks in the same proportion. The royal domains consisted in many farms of great extent and value, and as agriculture had then obtained great perfection, and had a most fertile soil to exercise itself upon, we may reasonably suppose this species of revenue to have been wonderfully productive.

The crown revenues were further augmented by taxes on stamps, on sales, and on transfers of every kind. The sovereign, by a positive law, was declared the legitimate heir of every person who died intestate, and further entitled to a share in all inheritances. He had also very considerable mines of gold, silver and the precious stones; and, though the Moors were but imperfectly skilled in the working of mines, we know that Grenada was nevertheless the part of Europe in which both gold and silver most abounded. If we advert to various other products, particularly the traffic in beautiful silks, from which this kingdom by the convenience of its ports derived considerable benefits; and further call to mind the extraordinary activity, the industry, and characteristic sobriety of the Moors, these aggregate considerations must certainly impress no very humble notions of the opulence of the Grenadian sovereigns.

Their forces, I will not say in times of peace, for with such times they were rarely acquainted, amounted to one

hundred thousand effective men, and this number could on exigencies be doubled. The city alone furnished fifty thousand; but when called upon to act against the Spaniards, every man became a soldier. Difference of worship rendered these wars in a manner holy, and the rooted antipathy between the two nations, drew forth, in times of need, even the imperfect energies of infancy and age.

But independent of this auxiliary force, which could at best be but imperfectly disciplined, Grenada had always large bodies of horse distributed along her frontiers; but particularly on the sides of Jaën and Murcia, these points being most exposed to the depredations of the Spaniards. Each of these horsemen had a comfortable dwelling assigned him, with land sufficient to support his family and his horse. This mode of maintaining soldiers, was beneficial without being burthensome. And it was also extremely politic, since it attached these soldiers to their country, by giving them a kind of property they were interested in defending, and the defence of which they must know depended principally on themselves.

This cavalry must have proved extremely serviceable in an age when the art of war did not, as in our days, require large bodies of men to be incessantly assembled and collectively exercised. The men were mounted on Andalousian or

African horses, whose excellencies have been always acknowledged, which they managed with uncommon dexterity, and regarded indeed as companions. In a word, their cavalry had obtained even then the same reputation which we assign it at present.

These formidable squadrons were unrivalled in the velocity of their movements. At one and the same instant they would charge in a body, divide by troops, disperse, rally, fly and then rally again, and during any of these manœuvres pick up a lance or sabre from the ground on full gallop. Nothing in short in horsemanship could exceed their expertness. Their voices, their looks, their gestures, their very thoughts all seemed rivetted to their inestimable coursers; and these in fact constituted the principal strength of the Moorish battle.

Their infantry was of little or no estimation, and the places of defence committed to them in general, little better than mere mud walls surrounded by ditches, and therefore certainly incompetent to resist the attacks of the Spanish infantry, which began even then to be thought, what it afterwards proved itself to be under Gonsalvo the great captain.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

ALPHONSO THE SAGE.—ANECDOTE OF GARCIA GOMEZ.

FERDINAND the Third, or, as he has been called, Saint Ferdinand, was succeeded on the throne of Castile by his son Alphonso the Sage*. On the accession of the new king, Mahomet presented himself at court, escorted by a splendid retinue, to renew the treaty of peace which had been entered into with his predecessor. He met with the most gracious reception, and obtained a remission of part of the tribute he had stipulated to pay, and thus far harmony seemed established between the two courts. But the prospect was too fair to be lasting. War was again renewed, and conducted with the usual inveteracy, but with this only difference, that the contending parties were now more equally balanced, and the chances became more doubtful.

In the course of this war we meet with an exploit which does no less honour to the liberality of the Moors, than the

* Note (D).

courage of the Christian hero, the immediate subject of it, and is therefore not undeserving a place in history. Garcias Gomez was governor of Xeres when that city was besieged by the Grenadians, and, during the siege, had lost the principal part of his garrison. Still, however, though himself stuck round with darts and covered with blood, he remained upon the ramparts, resisting almost singly all the attacks of the assailants. The Moors, who beheld with admiration this extraordinary display of courage, were so affected by it, that they determined with one accord to save, if possible, the life of the gallant Spaniard; and accordingly, by means of iron hooks, they actually succeeded and brought him off in his own despite. They detained him among them till his wounds were healed, treating him always with the greatest care and tenderness, and then, in acknowledgment of his high valour, loaded him with presents and returned him unransomed to his country.

Alhamar, although successful in many battles, could not protect Murcia against the arms of Alphonso, and was even forced, for the attainment of peace, to subject himself anew to his former tribute. But the treaty to this effect was scarcely signed, when his hopes were again revived by dissensions in Castile between Alphonso and some of the principal lords of his court, with his brother at their head. These malcontents withdrew themselves to Grenada, where they rendered very

seasonable service to Alhamar, in quelling a revolt which had been excited by the intrigues of the Spaniards. This was one of Alhamar's last exploits. He died shortly after at Grenada, bequeathing to his son, Mahomet the Second, the undisputed possession of a throne which had been acquired exclusively by his own valour and virtues.

Mahomet assumed at his accession the title of Emir al Munemion. He seems to have adhered to his father's policy with respect to Castile. As Alphonso was aspiring at the imperial crown,* he was necessarily forced to make frequent voyages for the advancement of his pretensions: upon these occasions the Grenadian monarch did not fail to profit of his absence so far as to foment divisions in his kingdoms, under cover of which, he expected not only to release himself from his disgraceful tribute, but also to augment and strengthen his dominions. With this view he made a secret treaty with the king of Tunis, by which it was fixed that the strong fortresses of Jaën and Algeziras, should be delivered into his hands, on condition that he invaded Castile with a powerful army. Conformably to this treaty, Jacob arrived in Spain and effected a junction with his ally.

While the Musulman princes acted in concert they ob-

* Note (E).

tained many advantages over the Castilians. But their union was soon interrupted by the criminal rebellion of Sancho against his father. Mahomet on this occasion declared for the rebel son, and Alphonso being forsaken by his subjects, had no resource but to throw himself at the mercy of the King of Tunis, before whom he presented himself accordingly at Zehra. At this interview the Castilian offered the post of honor to his protector, "No," exclaimed the generous Moor, "this place, as long as you are unfortunate, is due to you. I come to render justice to an injured father, to assist him in chastising an ungrateful son, who, in return for the life he has received, is wickedly plotting to deprive his venerable benefactor both of his life and his crown. When this work is accomplished, and you become once more prosperous and powerful, I shall be then ready to enter the list against you, and contest anew your pretensions to the crown."

Alphonso had not magnanimity enough to confide in the person who made this declaration. He withdrew secretly from his court, and died shortly after of grief and disappointment, having previously made a will, by which, in due form, he affected to disinherit his guilty son. Vain ostentation! to think that the grave would give him the disposal of a kingdom, which, when living, he had not been able to recover! In defiance of the will, and the then prevalent dissensions in

Castile, Sancho* continued upon the throne. Mahomet however did not fail to turn these dissensions to his own benefit. He penetrated into Andalousia,† where he possessed himself of many posts of considerable strength, and signaling his reign by various victories, ended his career in a blaze of glory!

* Note (F).

† Note (G).

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

OF ALHAMBRA, AND GENERALIFFE.

AS Mahomet the Second was always friendly to the sciences, his court became particularly the asylum of poetry and philosophy. The Moors had distinguished themselves in many branches of science, but, above all, in astronomy, for which they were so highly celebrated, that, we are told, when Alphonso the Sage was composing his famous astronomical tables, he was materially assisted by some of the most learned of this nation. But exclusive of her excellence in this and other sciences, Grenada had certainly begun to rival Cordova* in arts, but particularly in architecture, her progress in which had been uncommonly rapid.

It was in the reign of Mahomet the Second, that the celebrated palace of Alhambra was begun; a palace which has

* Note (H).

particularly excited the admiration of all travellers, as it serves to prove the degree of perfection to which the Moors had carried the art, till then so little known to Europeans, of adjusting magnificence by the mirror of voluptuousness. As I am upon this topic, I trust I shall be excused from giving some detail of a structure, the contemplation of which conveys no little insight into the manners and customs of this people.

Alhambra was a vast fortress constructed upon one of the two hills which comprised the city of Grenada. This hill not only commands a complete view of the whole city, but an extensive and almost boundless landscape of the most beautiful country probably in the universe. It was in the middle of an esplanade on this spot that Mahomet constructed his superb palace.

Nothing known to us in architecture can give us any adequate idea of the architecture of the Moors. They piled up their buildings without the smallest regard to external shew, without symmetry, without order. Their whole attention was directed inwardly. Here they employed all their ingenuity. Here they exhausted their resources of taste and magnificence, endeavouring to blend all the refinements of luxury and elegance, with the lovelier fascinations of rural simplicity. Here, in spacious saloons lined with marble, paved or coated

with elegant china, and set off with sofas covered with the finest Persian carpeting, or decorated with the costliest stuffs in gold and silver, fountains were seen to play in various directions, the most precious perfumes were inhaled from vessels of the choicest workmanship, and all the apartments embalmed with the combined sweets of oranges, jasmins, myrtles, and other fragrant and odoriferous flowers!

To the first view of the traveller the palace of Alhambra presents scarcely any front. It is approached by delightful walks carried along the borders of rivulets, which wind through groves of flowers in various directions. The entrance is by a square tower called heretofore the Gate* of Judgment; a religious inscription, denoting that it was in this place the monarch dispensed justice, according to the ancient usage of the Hebrews and all the eastern nations. Many buildings adjacent to this have been since demolished to make room for a magnificent palace which was erected for Charles the Fifth, the description of which would be foreign to our purpose†.

On the north side of the above building we enter the apartments of the Moorish kings, where the traveller fancies himself transported, as if by magic, into the land of the fairies. The first court is an oblong square, surrounded by an arched

* Note (I). † Note (K).

gallery, the walls and ceilings of which are covered with Mosaic, with festoons, with Arabesque paintings and different gildings and carvings in stucco. All the spaces are filled with passages from the Alcoran, or inscriptions like the following, which I select, as they give us some ideas of the figurative style of the Moors.

“ O Nazar, thou wast born upon the throne, and shinest
“ like the morning star, with thine own lustre !”

“ Thy arm is our rampart, thy justice our light. By
“ thy valour thou subduest those who give companions to
“ God. By thy bounty thou diffusest happiness among the
“ innumerable offspring of thy people. The stars of the
“ firmament shine upon thee with respect, the sun with
“ love, and the stately cedar, loftiest monarch of the forest,
“ is abased in thy presence, and again exalted by thy
“ power.”

In the middle of this court, which is paved with white marble, is a bason deep and wide enough for persons to swim in, which had the benefit of a constant supply of running water. This was called the Mescar, and served as a bath to the attendants of the court*.

From hence we pass to the celebrated Court of the Lions, which is a hall one hundred feet long by fifty wide. Round this hall there passes a gallery supported by a colonade of

* Note (L).

white marble, the pillars of which are ranked sometimes by twos, sometimes by threes in the row. They are small and of a whimsical taste, yet the eye of the spectator is pleased by their grace and lightness. The walls, and, above all, the cielings of this winding gallery are clothed with gold, lapis lazuli, azure or stucco, or adorned with silk worked in Arabesque figures with an elegance and nicety which our most skilful artists would perhaps be puzzled to imitate. In the midst of flower works, gems and other decorations, we meet with the following passages from the Alcoran, which every good Musulman is enjoined constantly to have in his mouth:

“ God is great !”

“ God alone is conqueror !”

“ There is but one God !”

“ Heavenly gaiety, expansion of heart, and all
“ delights of the soul to the true believers.”

At the two extremities of this oblong square two cupolas are projected from fourteen to sixteen feet long, decorated with Mosaic. These are also supported upon marble pillars, and have fountains playing under them. In the centre of this is a cup of alabaster of about six feet diameter, supported by twelve lions over a vast bason of white marble. This cup, supposed to be modelled after the famous Sea of Brass in the temple of Solomon; is surmounted by a smaller one, from whence issued a large sheaf of water, which, falling from one receptacle into the other, and from

thence into the larger bason, formed a kind of perpetual cascade, the volumes of which were still further augmented by streams incessantly discharged from the mouths of the lions.

This fountain, like all other parts of the palace, is adorned with inscriptions, the Moors taking always much delight in blending poetry with sculpture, in which, though their ideas are often far fetched, they are nevertheless always either pleasing or sublime. But we are so little acquainted with their manners and the genius and turn of their language, that we have no right, and it certainly is not fair, to criticise their works too severely. If this was allowable, would the verses composed in the Spanish part of Spain, or perhaps in Europe, at the same period, be entitled to better consideration, than those which are found in the Court of the Lions?

“ If, stranger, thou canst rightly prize

“ These magic scenes that round thee rise

“ Where Lions sport and waters flow,

“ Due rev'rence to the founder show.

“ The prodigies which greet the view,

“ To mighty Mahomet are due.”

If free from sordid care and strife,

You sigh for smoother scenes of life ;

Appreciate the great master's mind

By the pure calm which here you find.

But, though his gentle soul, like thine,

Did to life's peaceful tracts incline ;

Whene'er provok'd by restless foes,

The Lion's fury in him rose.

By justice arm'd, her champion went,
To scourge the proud and insolent.

These springs, that thus resplendent rear
Their glitt'ring tops, and play in air,
Then, to the tributary urn,
Augmentedly her gifts return,
Are faithful emblems of his mind,
For ever sportive, clear and kind.
When, like their show'rs, his subjects vied,
Who best should for his state provide,
Their tributes in his treasures laid,
Were sure of int'rest amply paid ;
With patriot warmth their wants he scan'd,
And crown'd them with a lib'ral hand.

Such is the purport of one of the inscriptions in the Alhambra, which I have hazarded to give in English with a trembling hand, sincerely regretting that I have no poetic friend to whom I can at present resort to do them justice.

From the Court of the Lions we enter three other halls, on the sides of which are the following inscriptions :

“ A long reign and the love and assistance of God to my

“ master.”

“ There is no other conqueror but God.”

At the entrance of the hall, which has this inscription, we find the following :

“ The garden that is before you gives you life. The
“ harmony of those thickets and their varied fragranc y en-
“ chants the soul. And thou, charming bason, which em-
“ bellishest it, thou shalt be compared to a monarch adorned
“ with his crowns, his golden chains and jewels.”

This inscription alludes to the gardens of Lindaraxa, which the windows of this hall commanded.

It is needless to enter into a minuter detail of the several parts of the Alhambra that are still distinguishable. In this quarter is the hall of audience. In that, are the baths of the King and Queen. The very chambers in which they reposed are to be seen at this day, with the places for the beds; which were in recesses, alcoved with china, and having fountains playing near them.

The concert room has four raised galleries for the musicians, and a fountain which used to play into a bason of alabaster. The seats for the court were all decorated with tapestry. From the cabinet to which the Queen retired to prayers, or to the duties of the toilette, the view is picturesque and enchanting beyond all description. The cabinet, about six feet square, has, in one of the corners, a plate of marble pierced through with innumerable apertures, to admit the scents of the various perfumes which were burnt in a vault beneath. The windows, doors and spaces are all so disposed, that the sight feels itself relieved and cheered by the select lights in which

the different objects are presented to it, while the whole frame is constantly gratified and refreshed by a salutary and imperceptible circulation of air.

On quitting the Alhambra, we see on another lofty mountain the enchanting gardens of the Generaliffe, so called to signify the seat of music, dancing and love. The palace and gardens were made by a prince of the name of Omar, who was so passionately fond of music, that he used to retire to this place to deliver himself wholly to his favourite recreation.

To this palace, which was built much in the same style with the Alhambra, and distinguished by the same magnificence, the Kings and Queens of Grenada generally resorted in the spring.

Though the remains of the Generaliffe are now very imperfect, yet its picturesque situation, and the views it presents, always varying, always fascinating, are constant and impressive objects of admiration. Fountains, jets d'eau, and cascades rush out and present themselves under an infinity of forms. The garden was a kind of amphitheatre intersected by Mosaic terraces or green swards. It is still overlooked by some of those immense cypresses, which have, heretofore, afforded their grateful and accommodating shades to the Kings and Queens of Grenada. In their days, plantations of fruit

trees and flowery thickets were intermingled with sombre groves, with domes and splendid pavilions. In our day, little remains of the Generaliffe, which the hand of despotism, more remorseless than the hand of time, could ravish from it. Still it is the spot in the world that appeals most powerfully to the senses and to the heart.*

Among the scattered inscriptions in this palace, are to be found the following on a window in the first hall.

“ This window is intended to gratify the noble persons
“ who may chance to visit this charming palace. The
“ prospects from hence are transporting ; since, while they
“ please the eye, they exalt the soul. Let us give thanks to
“ God ! The fountain you behold from hence is well
“ recompensed for its services, for while it gives never
“ ceasing delight to our King, it is enlivened and embel-
“ lished by his presence.”

On quitting this hall we pass under some arches leading to a court, called the Court of the Lake, where are found the following inscriptions :

“ Charming palace, thou presentest thyself in full ma-
“ jesty.”

“ Thy splendour equals thy extent.”

“ Thy light illumines all around thee.”

“ Thou art worthy all praise. Thy attire is divine.

* Note (M).

“ Thy gardens are decorated with flowers which repose
“ upon their branches to dispense around the fragrance
“ of their blossoms. When the leaves of thy thickets move,
“ they soothe thee with the softest music ; all around is one
“ scene of verdure, flourishing and full of harmony.”

“ Abulgali, thou best of kings ! Protector of the law and
“ of all true believers. Thou art the just object of my
“ veneration. May God protect thee and strengthen thy
“ hopes ! Thou ennoblest the humblest of his works !”

“ This apartment dedicated to thee, is so pure and so
“ strong that its duration must be as permanent as our
“ holy sect. It is the triumph of art and the prodigy of
“ perfection !”

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

MAHOMET THE THIRD.—DEATH OF THE TWO INFANTS.—
CANNON FIRST USED.—MELANCHOLY STATE OF EUROPE.

AFTER soaring with delight in the fairy regions of Alhambra and Generaliffe, it is with regret we find ourselves forced to descend to the dreary and forbidding haunts of the furies, to revisit scenes of human cruelty and desolation. Mahomet the Second was succeeded by his son Mahomet the Third, surnamed the Blind, who had to contend at once with his own subjects and with the Spaniards. His prime minister Farady had married his sister, and he was forced by his infirmity to commit himself to his guidance. Being a consummate general, Farady conducted the war against the Spaniards with tolerable success, and obtained at last an advantageous peace. But these services only drew upon him the hatred of the courtiers, who, because they envied his fortunes, thought themselves justified in projecting both his ruin and the ruin of his master. Of their intrigues, Ferdinand surnamed the Sum-

moned* did not fail to benefit, and having united with the king of Arragon he possessed himself of Gibraltar, which was now lost to the Moors for ever.

Among the unhappy wretches who were forced to abandon this city, was an old man oppressed with age and infirmities, who approached Ferdinand, leaning on his staff, and addressed him to the following effect. “ King of Castile, what have I
“ done to wrong either thyself or thy people? Thy great grand-
“ father Ferdinand forced me to fly Seville my native country
“ and betake myself to Xeres. From Xeres I was expelled
“ by thy grandfather Alphonso, and compelled to seek a
“ second asylum at Tariffe†. Thence I was chased by thy
“ father. Finally, I retired to this extremity of Spain, hoping
“ at least to remain here unmolested, and to find upon this
“ barren rock at once a tomb and the termination of my
“ miseries. Even here thy wrath pursues me. Point out
“ then I beseech thee some part of the earth, out of the reach
“ of the Spaniards and thy ambition, to which I may retire
“ and die unmolested.” “ Pass the seas,” replied the haughty conqueror, and instantly ordered him to be transported to Africa.

Being pressed on all sides by the Castilians and Arragonians, or become mistrustful of his own subjects, whose minds

* Note (N). † Note (O).

were alienated from him by the cabals of his principal courtiers, Mahomet and his minister were driven to the necessity of patching up a peace with the Christian powers upon terms equally disadvantageous as dishonourable. But even this humiliation could not secure them the calm they expected; the war soon breaking out and raging again with redoubled fury. At length Mahomet Abennazar, brother of Mahomet the Blind, possessed himself of the royal person, and, having murdered his captive, usurped his throne. The usurper did not long enjoy what he had obtained by his crimes; being in his turn, shortly after, dispossessed by Farady, the minister of his late unfortunate predecessor, who not daring to wear the crown himself, placed it on the head of his son Ismael, the nephew of Mahomet the Blind.

From this period the royal family of Grenada was split into two factions, which proved implacable and fatal enemies to each other; one of these was called the party of Farady, and professed to support the succession, as then established, in the female line. The other Alhamar, which thought to confine it to the male line. The young Abennazar, then a prisoner at Guadix, was regarded as the head of this latter faction, and his claims were strongly supported by the Castilians, whose interest it was to foment the dissensions then raging in Grenada. Profiting by these dissensions, Don Pedro, uncle of the young King of Castile, and Alphonso, surnamed the Avenger,

obtained many important advantages over the Moors, at length Don Pedro uniting with Don John, another Infant of Castile, marched to the very ramparts of Grenada, plundering and destroying the country in all directions as they proceeded. Ismaël quietly regarded their movements, permitting them to indulge in these excesses without the slightest interruption, but they no sooner prepared to return to Castile, swoln and encumbered with their immense booty, than he, who had cautiously attended all their movements, pursued and contrived to surprize the rear guard of their army, which brought on a most desperate battle. This action took place on the twenty-sixth of June, in one of the hottest days of that climate, and, the victory being contested most obstinately, the Princes were forced to make such exertions, that at length they were overpowered by the heat of the sun, and both dropped dead on the field of battle.

This accident spread general dismay among the panting and exhausted Spaniards, who, being no longer able to support the unequal conflict, fled on all sides in the greatest disorder, leaving all their baggage, and the body of one of their princes in the possession of the enemy. The conduct of the victors on this occasion, is highly characteristic of Moorish generosity. Ismaël caused the body to be carefully removed to Grenada, where he had it placed in a rich coffin, which was covered

with a cloth most splendidly embroidered, and after paying it all other suitable honors, he ordered it to be transmitted for interment to Castile. What a contrast does this trait present to the conduct of the haughty Ferdinand towards the superannuated Moor at Gibraltar? The mountains near which this battle was fought, have been since called, in commemoration of this event, the Sierra des los Infantos.

Ismaël derived no other advantage from this victory and his subsequent humanity, than the obtaining of an honourable truce and the restoration of a few towns of little importance, whose restoration he did not long survive. Being smitten by the charms of a young Castilian captive, who had fallen by lot to one of his officers, he took her from him by force, an act of violence and injustice which cost him his life. Among the Moors, offences of this nature were never to be expiated but by blood, and he accordingly met his fate at the hands of the officer he had injured. He was succeeded upon the throne by his son Mahomet.

The reigns of this Mahomet, and his immediate successor Joseph, who were both murdered in their palaces, occupy a space of about thirty years; but exhibit nothing more than a disgusting catalogue of cruelties and crimes; of sedition, murders, wars and desolation.

At length Abel Hassen, king of Morocco, of the dynasty of the Morinis, being solicited by the Grenadians, arrived with a formidable army to co-operate with them against the common enemy. This brought on the famous battle of Salado. The confederates were encountered on the banks of this river, not far from Tariffe, by the kings of Castile and Portugal, who gained a complete victory over them. The loss of the Muslims in this battle was never exactly ascertained. But there is no doubt that many thousands of lives were lost, as this battle is as highly celebrated in the Spanish annals, as their former glorious and important victory of Toloza.

After this defeat Abel Hassen, to conceal his disgrace, betook himself to Africa, and the victorious armies proceeded to lay siege to Algeziras*, which was justly regarded as one of the principal bulwarks of the Grenadians, being the chief inlet through which that people were accustomed on emergencies to receive the succours of their African neighbours. Many English, French and Navarrese knights resorted to this siege, which was particularly remarkable, because the Moors are said to have then brought cannon for the first time into use. It is pretty certain that this is the first instance upon record in which this species of warfare appears to have been recurred to; the English not having adopted it till the battle of Crécy,

* Note (P).

which was four years subsequent to the siege of Algeziras. Hence, whether we are beholden or not to the Moors for the discovery of gun-powder, the credit of which has been assigned alternately to the Chinese, to Schwartz the German Cordelier, and to our own countryman Roger Bacon, there is every reason to conclude that they were the original inventors and founders of cannon. Yet notwithstanding this new, and, it must be owned, ingenious and powerful discovery, Algeziras was taken. After the surrender of this important post the king of Grenada was repeatedly beaten by the Spaniards, and at length murdered by his own subjects.

We have already remarked, that among the Moors, the succession to the throne was not regulated by any law. It is, however, further worthy observation, that, notwithstanding the various scenes of confusion and the various outrages, incidental to a vacancy of the throne, and to times of consequent anarchy and confusion, the preference of election almost invariably attached to some prince of the blood. Thus, after the murder of Ismaël, the crown of Grenada, as we have seen, was not disputed by any new family; but the contest for it solely rested between the two branches of Alhamar and Farady, both descended from one common stock. But, as the former of these branches had been dispossessed by the latter, they always regarded those who had dispossessed them as usurpers,

and thus the sparks for future conspiracies and dissensions were perpetually kept alive.

Joseph the first was succeeded by his uncle Farady, who assumed the name of Mahomet, and was called the Old, because he ascended the throne at an advanced age. This Farady was dethroned by his cousin Alhamar, styled Mahomet the Red, who continued upon the throne some time under the protection of the King of Arragon. But the cause of the dethroned King being at length espoused by Peter the Cruel, King of Castile, Mahomet found himself so closely pressed by that monarch that he had no alternative but to throw himself on the mercy of his opponent. He accordingly repaired to Seville, at the head of a numerous escort, carrying with him a considerable treasure; and presenting himself with a noble confidence before his persecutor, "King of Castile," said he, "abundance of Christian and Musulman blood has been shed
"by my contest with Farady. You are the protector of
"my adversary. You therefore I chuse to be our judge.
"Examine our respective pretensions, and decide which
"is entitled to reign. If your decision is favourable to my
"rival, I ask no more than a safe conduct into Africa. If
"you think justice on my side, behold me here ready to do
"you homage for my crown."

Peter was so astonished at this generous and dignified address, that he appears to have forgot for the moment his natural barbarity. He invited the prince to a splendid entertainment, placed him on his right hand at the table, conversed with him long and familiarly, and treated him apparently with every other possible mark of distinction and kindness. But this shew of moderation and forbearance was only a refinement on his natural cruelty. For his guest had scarcely risen from table than he was dragged contemptuously to prison, and from thence paraded half naked on an ass to a place called la Tablada, where he was forced to remain a passive spectator while thirty of his retinue were butchered in his presence. At length, the execrable monster, who directed these cruelties, as if envious of the executioner in his bloody office, seized a lance and dispatched his royal guest with his own hands. The unhappy victim of this aggravated barbarity is said, even in the agonies of death, to have been more affected by this unprincipled violation of the laws of hospitality, and the insult offered by it to all the rules of chivalry, than by his own personal sufferings; for he died exclaiming "O Peter, perfidious, cruel Peter! Is this a fit exploit for a knight?"

But base and unjustifiable as the conduct of the Castilian appears, not only in this but in a multitude of other instances all equally nefarious, he was not it seems the only monster of

his day. By an unaccountable fatality all the Christian thrones in Spain, at this period, seem to have been occupied by tyrants blackened with crimes. Peter the Cruel, besides the atrocious act we have just witnessed, not only passed sentence of death upon his wife, Blanche of Bourbon, but was daily imbruing his hands in the blood of his kindred and best friends.—He was, in short, the Nero of Castile!

Peter the Fourth, of Arragon, inherited the joint bad qualities of Nero and Tiberius. Though less violent than the Castilian, he was equally cruel; but far superior to him in perfidy. The monster not only deprived one of his brothers of his inheritance, but passed sentence of death upon another, and to complete the black catalogue of his enormities, consigned over even his antient and venerable tutor to the hands of the executioner.

Peter the First, King of Portugal,* was the lover of the celebrated Ines de Castro, and his ferocity is said in one instance to have been heightened, by the cruelty which had been exercised on his mistress. For this we must admit he took ample revenge, when he caused the hearts of her murderers to be torn from them alive. But upon what principle shall we justify or extenuate the murder of his innocent sister?

* Note (Q).

Finally, Charles the Bad was at this time King of Navarre, a monster at whose very name humanity sickens. Spain, drenched in blood, groaned under the oppressions of these contemporary savages. If further we recollect that it was at this very period that France was exposed to her dreadful distractions by the captivity and detention of her King, John; that it was then England beheld the commencement of her troubles under Richard the Second; that Italy had two contending Popes, and was further distracted by the conflicts of the Guelph and Ghibeline factions; finally, that this was the period when Tamerlane was extending his bloody ravages, from the country of the Usbecs to the peninsula of India, we must admit that there has been scarcely an epoch in the history of the world, unless it be the present, in which mankind has been so universally afflicted.

After the crime perpetrated by Peter the Cruel, upon his unhappy guest, Grenada appears to have enjoyed a lucid interval of tranquillity. Mahomet the Old, by the death of his rival, was confirmed on the throne, and was the only monarch who preserved an unshaken fidelity to Peter to the end of his reign. His alliance, however, could not protect the tyrant from the punishment due to his delinquences. He was deprived of his crown and life by his bastard brother Henry of Transtamar; an event which produced no change in the

then state of affairs between Grenada and Castile. Mahomet renewed with Henry the treaty he had made with his predecessor, and adhered to it through his reign. At his death he bequeathed his flourishing states to his nephew Abou Hadjad, surnamed by historians Mahomet Guadix, who proved one of the wisest and best of the Grenadian sovereigns.

The great object of Mahomet's policy was to secure that peace to his people of which he found them in possession on his accession to the throne, but to which antecedent to the late reign they had been almost always strangers. With this view he commenced his career by taking all requisite precautions for the security of his dominions by settling on foot a formidable army, fortifying all his strong positions, and insuring the alliance of the King of Tunis by a marriage with his daughter Ghalie. Having taken these preparatory precautions, he sent an embassy to solicit the friendship of Don Juan, King of Castile, the son and successor of Henry of Castile, which he obtained without difficulty, the young King being at that time employed both with England and

Portugal.

CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

STATE OF THE SCIENCES IN GRENADA AT THIS PERIOD.

—GALLANTRY OF THE GRENADIAN MOORS.—DESCRIP-
TION OF THEIR WOMEN.

THE first great object of Mahomet's policy, was to secure that peace to his people of which he found them in possession on his accession to the throne, but to which, antecedent to the late reign, they had been almost always strangers. With this view he commenced his career, by taking all requisite precautions for the security of his dominions, by setting on foot a formidable army, fortifying all his strong positions, and insuring the alliance of the King of Tunis, by a marriage with his daughter Cadige. Having taken these preparatory precautions, he sent an embassy to solicit the friendship of Don Juan, King of Castile, the son and successor of Henry of Transtamar; which he obtained without difficulty, the young King being at that time embroiled both with England and Portugal.

Having concluded this alliance, and taken similar precautions with respect to the other Christian powers, the attention of Mahomet was next directed to the advancement of agriculture and commerce, both of which he relieved of the burthens that pressed most heavily upon them; by which salutary relief, no bad lesson to all financiers, he actually augmented his own revenues. By these and other equally politic and salutary regulations he not only endeared himself to his people, whose happiness he thus promoted, but caused himself to be respected and feared by all the Christian powers, without having himself reason to be afraid of any of them.

Mahomet employed all his wealth and leisure in patronizing the arts. He gave particular encouragement to poetry and architecture, by which he embellished his capital, and contrived to leave many elegant monuments of his taste and magnificence at Grenada and Guadix; but particularly at this latter city, for which he had always justly entertained the strongest predilection.

His court was further signalized as the mansion of politeness and gallantry. The Grenadian academies produced good painters, good mathematicians, astrologers, botanists, and physicians. The greater part of the works of their celebrated writers* were destroyed on the conquest of that kingdom.

* Note (R).

Some few, however, have happily escaped, and were, till lately, to be met with in the library of the Escorial. Many of them treat of grammar and astrology, but the principal part turn on subjects of theology, in which branch they are said particularly to have excelled. This is not to be wondered at, when we contemplate the genius of the people ; in adverting to which, is it unreasonable to conclude, that the unhappy turn for scholastic disputation and the useless discussion of subtle and abstruse questions, which characterise many of the writings of that age, (writings now very wisely consigned to oblivion) was introduced into Europe through the channel of these Moorish schools?

The pretended secrets of the Cabala, of alchymy, of judicial astrology*, and the conjuring wand ; all the histories of sorcerers, magicians or enchanter, heretofore so frequent and even credited among us, are most unquestionably derived from the Arabs. In all ages they have been noted for superstition, and it is perhaps to their long residence in Spain, and their constant intercourse with the Spaniards, that we are to attribute that love for the marvellous, that implicit credulity, bordering on superstition, for which this latter people are noted, a people in whom nature has deposited some of the germs of her sublimest virtues !

* Note (S).

Novels and romances were always in the highest estimation among the Arabs, and there can be scarcely a doubt that the taste of the Spaniards for productions of this nature is deducible from this source. The Arabs or Moors have always been, and are still, fond of fables and romances. In Asia, as in Africa, in the middle of their deserts, they assemble nightly in their tents to attend the recital of some amour, or some otherwise interesting story. They listen to the narrative in the profoundest silence, follow it up with attention and interest, and weep or rejoice with the lovers or heroes whose adventures are related.

At Grenada a taste for poetry was blended with this predilection for fable. Their poets composed verses on love or war. Their musicians gave apposite airs to these verses, and their young people recited them. Hence that immense mass of Spanish romances translated or imitated from the Moors, which, in language simple but affecting, relate the conversations of lovers, the disputes between rivals, or their wars with the Christians. In these works every thing is described with the minutest exactness. Their feasts, the sports of the ring and cane; the bull course, which they borrowed from the Spaniards; their arms, which consisted of a large sabre, a small lance, a coat of mail and a light leathern buckler; their horses, whose trailing housings swept the ground and were embossed with precious stones; their devices, which were ge-

nerally a heart pierced with darts, a star directing a vessel, or the first letter of the name of a favourite mistress ; finally their colours, each of which carried its distinct signification, the yellow and black denoting grief; the green hope, the blue jealousy, and the violet or flame-coloured impassioned love.

The delicate and refined gallantry of the Moors was once famed through Europe, and presents a striking contrast to the characteristic ferocity of the aboriginal African. War was the glory of this gallant nation. Every warrior prided himself upon his prowess in battle, and the dexterity with which he had taken off the head of an enemy, which was usually suspended on his saddle bow, and afterwards exposed in its bleeding state, over the gate of his palace, or on the battlements of his city.

Yet these warriors, so restless, so untractable, so ready to revolt, and depose or murder their sovereigns, were, of all people, the tenderest and most impassioned of lovers. Their women, who in general were treated little better than slaves, were no sooner beloved, than they were exalted into so many tutelar divinities. It was to recommend themselves to these, they pursued glory and fame, and became prodigal to excess both of life and fortune, endeavouring to eclipse each other in the magnificence and splendour of their feasts and shows, no less than by the lustre of their military achievements.

Was this desire to please, this extraordinary mixture of delicacy with barbarity, of mildness with ferocity, derived from the Spaniards to the Moors, or from these latter to the Spaniards? Perhaps the question, in the opinion of many, may not be easily solved. Yet, when we reflect that these traits in the Moorish character, are not to be met with in Asia, which was their original country; that they are still less perceptible in Africa, where they had naturalized themselves by conquest; and finally, that since their expulsion from Spain, they have lost all traces of these chivalrous, amiable characteristics, must we not be disposed, as far as this kind of negative evidence goes, to decide in favour of the Spaniards?

Perhaps the traits we are noticing might be traced to the courts of the Gothic Kings, antecedent to the arrival of the Moors in Spain. Whether they can be so traced or not, one thing is certain, that they are to be found among the Christian princes subsequent to this event, the knights and princes of Leon, Navarre and Castile being no less celebrated in the annals of history, for their gallantry than for their renown in arms.

What ideas of tenderness as well as courage does not the illustrious Cid alone awaken in us? But without adverting to individual examples, of which innumerable instances might be produced, we know, that long after the expulsion of the

Moors, the Spaniards bore away the palm of gallantry from the French, and that the manners of the chivalrous ages, though lost to the rest of Europe, are still, to a certain degree, perceptible in various parts of Spain. Much of the chivalrous manners of the Grenadians, is no doubt to be attributed to their women, who were exactly qualified to create and keep alive this spirit of gallantry among their countrymen, and to occasion those excesses of love, of which so many examples, equally extraordinary as pleasing, occur both in Spanish and Arabian history. They were then, what they continue at this day, the most alluring and fascinating women in the world. As my authority for the assertion, the following portrait of them is taken from an Arabian history published at Grenada, in the reign of Mahomet the Old.

“ They are,” says this historian, “ uncommonly beautiful,
“ and their charms, which rarely fail to impress at first sight,
“ are further set off by a lightness and grace, which gives them
“ an influence quite irresistible. They are rather below the mid-
“ dle stature ; their hair, which is of a beautiful black, descends
“ almost to their ancles. No vermilion can vie with their lips,
“ which are continually sending forth the most bewitching
“ smiles, as if expressly to display teeth as white as alabaster.
“ They are profuse in the use of perfumes and washes, which,
“ being exquisite in their kinds, give a freshness and lustre to
“ the skin rarely to be equalled by the women of other coun-

“ tries. Their steps, their dances, all their movements display
“ a graceful softness, an easy negligence, that enhances their
“ other charms, and not only renders them irresistible, but
“ exalts them beyond all power of praise. Their conversa-
“ tion is lively and poignant; their wit refined and pene-
“ trating, equally adapted to grave and abstruse discussions,
“ as to the pleasantest and most lively sallies.”

Illam, quicquid agit, quoquo vestigia flectit,

*Componit furtim subsequiturque decor.**

Some grace propitious on her steps attends,

Adjusts her charms by stealth, and recommends.

The dresses of the Grenadian women, like those of the modern Turks and Persians, consisted of a long tunic closed by a girdle, an upper garment with straight sleeves, called a dolyman, large drawers and Morocco slippers. Their stuffs, which were uncommonly fine, were edged with gold and silver, and set off with a profusion of jewels. Their hair fell in braids down the shoulders, and their heads were covered with small bonnets, to which were attached embroidered veils, exceedingly rich and ornamental, that descended to their knees.

The men were clothed nearly after the same fashion. Their purses, daggers and handkerchiefs were fastened to their

* Note (T).

girdles. Their heads were covered with white turbans. In summer they wore a large white robe over the dolyman, which they exchanged in winter for the alboanoso or African mantle. Their only variation of this dress was in times of war, when they put on coats of mail, and lined their turbans with iron.

It was customary for the Grenadians during the autumn to assemble at the charming villas in the vicinity of their city, where they resigned themselves wholly to pleasure, their nights and days being occupied alternately by music, dancing and the chase. Their dances, as well as some of their tales and ballads, were loose and lascivious. If the philosopher could be astonished at any contradictions in human nature, he would be surprised and puzzled to account, how any thing like a disregard or contempt of decency could be tolerated among a people, who seemed so well to understand the nature of love. But, in fact, the Eastern nations are but little acquainted with the truly amiable attributes of this divine passion. Their whole enjoyments are sensual. They are more jealous than delicate, and know not how to discriminate between the gratifications obtained by selection and preference, and those reluctantly acquiesced in upon far opposite and most humiliating considerations!

CHAPTER THE SEVENTH.

EXPEDITION OF MARTYN BARBUDAS.—REIGNS OF JOSEPH,
MAHOMET THE NINTH, AND JOSEPH THE SECOND.

WE availed ourselves of the calm which Grenada enjoyed during the reign of Mahomet Guadix, to enter upon the preceding details, which the reader perhaps, after all, will think irrelevant, if not tedious. This good king enjoyed a reign of thirty years, and at his death, was succeeded without opposition by his son Joseph. The successor conformed to his father's policy, endeavouring to preserve peace with the different powers, in which he happily succeeded, with only a little interruption occasioned by the machinations of a fanatic hermit. This fanatic had contrived to persuade Martyn Barbudas, Grand Master of Alcantara, as great a madman as himself, that he was appointed a chosen instrument in the hands of Providence to effect the total expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and that the glorious work was to be accomplished

without any difficulty, or the loss of even a single man, in the attempt.

The credulous Grand Master was so dazzled with the prospect of an enterprise which promised him glory upon such easy terms ; that he determined, without loss of time, to attempt the accomplishment of the prophecy. By way of prologue therefore to the farce he was about to act, he dispatched, what he called, an ambassador to the King of Grenada, with orders to declare, in his name, that the religion of Mahomet was false and detestable, and that of Christ, the only true one. And the ambassador was further instructed to say, that his master was ready to support this declaration, not by argument, not by proofs drawn from the sacred volumes, but by the summary and infallible evidence of the sword, in which he had such faith, as to challenge him to a combat of one hundred Christians against twice that number of Musulmans, upon no other condition, than that the vanquished party should oblige themselves to embrace the religion of the victors.

It was with much difficulty, great and unquestionable as the authority of his master was, that Joseph contrived to protect the person of the ambassador, who brought this very conciliatory message. All his precautions, however, could not

secure him from insult. He was not only reviled with the most opprobrious language, but hooted out of the city with the most marked accompaniments of indignation and contempt. The zealous Grand Master was not a little surprised, when he was informed of this reception of his ambassador. But he was too confident of the predictions in his favour, uttered by his inspired monitor and favourite, to be easily alarmed at the discontent of a whole people, or to think, that because they refused to acquiesce in a particular change, that that change ought not nevertheless to be attempted. This has been a rock perhaps upon which more than one pilot has been shipwrecked. But when did experience or reason ever avail against rooted obstinacy and fanaticism? Martyn committed himself, in contempt of all prudence, to the guidance of his favourite prophet, and at the head of one thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry proceeded for Grenada, not doubting that this force would overrun that whole kingdom, or that the timid African would shrink back at the first appearance of his formidable legions.

The king of Castile was no sooner apprised of these proceedings, so opposite both to his wishes and his policy, than he expressed his disapprobation openly, and forbid in the most positive terms the entrance of the frantic Crusade upon his territories. Barbudas, notwithstanding this injunction,

continued his route, making no other reply, than “ that it “ was his duty to serve God.” The governors of the provinces through which he passed attempted in vain to oppose his progress. Their opposition only tended further to inflame the zeal of the infatuated people, and so many were dazzled by the boldness of the enterprise and the promises of the prophet, that, when the Grand Master entered the territories his credulity had taught him to consider as an easy conquest, he found his numbers augmented to six thousand effectives.

With this force, which he was impatient to try, he attacked the first castle that lay on his march, where he lost three of his men and was himself wounded. “ How,” says he, turning, not a little confounded, to his great counsellor, “ how do you “ account for this misfortune so contrary to your prediction, “ that I should effect the reduction of Grenada, without the “ loss of a single man?” To this, the other, who had his answer ready, replied, that his prediction only referred to a pitched battle. Martyn was so satisfied with this reply that he proceeded, without any further questions, to bring the veracity of his friend to a new test, by engaging in a pitched battle against fifty thousand Moors. It is hardly necessary to state the result. The Grand Master and three hundred of his knights perished in the field, and the remainder of his

little army was either taken or cut off in its retreat. History says nothing of the fate of the Prophet Hermit, but its silence leads us to conjecture that he was not among the last to flee. As the king of Castile had unequivocally manifested his displeasure at this aggression, the harmony betwixt that kingdom and Grenada experienced no interruption.

Joseph survived this incident some years, but was at last poisoned by wearing a magnificent robe which had been sent him as a present by his secret enemy the king of Fez. We are told that the poison with which the robe was impregnated, was so subtle and virulent, that the unhappy victim suffered the most excruciating agonies for thirty days, during which his flesh rotted and detached itself by piece meal from his bones.

Joseph was succeeded by Mahomet the Ninth, the second of his sons, who had attempted to excite disturbances during the life of his father, and now usurped the throne over his elder brother whom he had imprisoned. Though the usurper had neither courage nor talents for war, yet, being in close alliance with the king of Tunis, and having with his assistance contrived to augment his fleet, he departed from his father's policy and broke the truce with Castile. But though he broke it with some success, yet the cause of the Castilians

was afterwards fully avenged by Don Juan the governor of the infant king, and Mahomet fell a victim to his unjust and impolitic ambition.

When the usurper found his end approaching, he dispatched an officer to the prison in which his brother was confined, with orders to put this prince to death, expecting by this precaution to secure the throne to his son.

Joseph, who was engaged at a game of chess with an Iman, when the officer imparted the cruel order, coolly solicited permission to finish his game, with which the other complied, and by the respite thus obtained, he saved his life. Before the game was ended, a second messenger arrived, to announce the death of his cruel brother and his own accession to the throne. A change in the tide of his fortunes, of which he does not seem to have been undeserving!

Instead of avenging himself on those who had been instrumental to his late sufferings, he lavished favours and distinctions upon them, and even so far forgot his brother's inhumanity as to receive his children in his palace, and treat them with all the tenderness of a father. When one of his courtiers ventured to remonstrate against this charitable lenity, "Per-

“ mit me,” exclaimed the benevolent monarch, “ to deprive
“ my enemies of all excuse for their past injustice, and to
“ prove to them that I merited their preference, though my
“ brother obtained it.”

After the death of this good King, whose reign did not exceed fifteen years, Grenada was distracted by civil wars and all their consequent horrors and calamities. Mahomet the Tenth, surnamed Abenhazar, succeeded his father Joseph, but was quickly dispossessed of the crown by Mahomet the Eleventh, surnamed El Zugir, or the Little. After a short reign of two years, this usurper perished on the scaffold, and Abenhazar, with the help of the Abencerrages,* one of the most powerful of the Grenadian tribes, was again reinstated on the throne.

Shortly after his restoration the Spaniards again entered Grenada, and marched up to the very glacis of the capital, rasing cities and desolating whole districts as they passed. To augment the afflictions of the Grenadians, John the Third, of Castile, contrived to excite a civil war among them, by causing Joseph Alhamar, grandson of that Mahomet the Red, who, as we have stated, was so basely assassinated by

* Note (U).

Peter the Cruel, to be proclaimed King; and no sooner was this proclamation made, than all the discontented, supported by the Zegirs, the inveterate enemies of the Abencerages, ranged around his banners.

In consequence of this revolution, Mahomet was forced to abdicate the throne, but, upon the death of his competitor, who only enjoyed his new dignity six months, he was once more reinstated. Mahomet reigned fifteen years after his restoration, when he was again deposed and shut up in prison by his nephew, Mahomet the Third, surnamed Osmin. This usurper soon shared the fate of his predecessor, being deposed by his brother Ismaël, and sentenced to end his days in the very dungeon to which he had condemned his unfortunate uncle.

These various revolutions and the crimes which they necessarily generated, did not deaden the animosities of the governors on the frontiers, nor restrain their mutual depredations. In one quarter a troop of horse, or a small body of infantry would pounce upon a village by surprise, to plunder houses, drive off cattle, and massacre the peaceful inhabitants. In another, an army would appear as suddenly, either to destroy vineyards and desolate whole districts, or enter some city to glut its avarice and vengeance, and load itself with spoils.

This species of warfare bore particularly hard upon the farmer who had too often the misfortune to behold the fruits of many months of labor, blighted and destroyed in a few seconds. The country round Grenada, in the reign of Ismaël, was so thoroughly destroyed, that this prince was forced to fell whole forests to supply the calls of the capital, whose fertile and justly celebrated Vega, was rendered almost useless by the reiterated irruptions of the Spaniards.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTH.

REIGN OF MULEY HASSEM.—MARRIAGE OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.—FERDINAND'S EMBASSY TO GRENADA, AND MULEY HASSEM'S REPLY.—DISSENTIONS IN GRENADA AND DEATH OF MULEY HASSEM.

ISMAËL was succeeded by his son Muley Hassem, who availed himself of the distractions in Castile, during the minority of Henry the Fourth, surnamed the Impotent, to carry his arms into the centre of Andalousia. This early exploit of the young King, joined to the high opinion which was entertained of his military talents, infused new energies into the Grenadians, who began to cherish hopes of recovering all that they had been dispossessed of in the preceding reigns. But the season was gone by for the realization of such hopes, as a change had taken place, which threatened to be productive of consequences the most important. This was nothing less than the marriage of Ferdinand of Sicily, presumptive heir

to the throne of Arragon, with Isabella of Castile, sister of Henry the Impotent. A marriage* brought about against the wishes of her brother, and in defiance of various impediments that opposed it at the time.

This marriage, by uniting as it did the two most powerful Christian monarchies, portended serious and important changes in the fortunes of the Moors. Either Castile or Arragon was formidable singly, and, under an active and enterprising prince, sufficiently strong to exhaust the Musulmans by constant alarms, if not to crush them altogether. But by the union of both their ruin became obviously inevitable.

To reduce the Musulman power and to expel the Moors altogether from the Peninsula, had principally occupied the attentions of the two sovereigns from the commencement of their respective reigns; and they had no sooner quieted the distractions in their new states, than they directed all their thoughts to the accomplishment of this master-stroke of policy. And the times were certainly highly favourable to the undertaking, since scarcely any court was ever composed of a greater number of brave generals and expert statesmen. The celebrated Ximenes was at the head of their councils, and the camp was brightened by a constellation of heroes, all

* Note (W).

formed by the civil wars, among whom we need only specify the count de Cabra, the marquis of Cadiz, and the renowned Gonzalvo, the Great Captain, a title conferred upon him by the voice of Europe at the time, and since sanctioned in the faithful records of history. Exclusive of the signal services which were assured to Ferdinand and Isabella from such generals, the latter had had the precaution to provide herself with what has been with reason regarded as one of the main sinews of war. Partly by her own rigid œconomy, and partly by bulls she had the address to obtain from the Pope upon the church revenues, she had replenished her treasury, which the prodigality of her predecessor had drained to the very dregs.

The forces of the two monarchs were nearly equal in point of numbers, discipline, and military tactics. They were wholly made up of Castilians and Arragonians, who, as they were destined to serve under the eye of their respective sovereigns, must have been alike actuated by one general principle of emulation.

Muley Hassem, who reigned at this period at Grenada, was perfectly aware of the dangers with which he was threatened ; but, far from being intimidated, he was the first to break the truce by surprising the Castilian city of Zehra. On the first intelligence of this unexpected aggression, many of the neigh-

bouring cities attempted to take arms against their invaders, but, as they had appointed no fixed point of rallying, they were attacked in little detachments, and easily either cut off or carried into slavery.

Ferdinand was no sooner apprized of an insult which corresponded so exactly with his views, than he determined to turn it to account. An ambassador was accordingly dispatched to Grenada, with orders not only to demand satisfaction for the late aggression, but further to require payment of the arrears of tribute which were due by treaty to Castile. "I know," said Muley in reply to the ambassador, "that some of my predecessors have been accustomed to send pieces of gold occasionally to your masters. But in my reign we deal in no such article. This is the only metal I have to offer to Castile." On pronouncing which words he pointed to the head of his spear.

Ferdinand upon receiving this answer issued orders instantly to the governors on his frontiers to prepare for war: adding that "he did not doubt but the loss of Zehra would prove a spur to their vigilance, as it must shew how little they could trust to an enemy who could thus contemptuously violate his most solemn engagements."

This charge produced a reply on the part of the Moors, in

which they rested their vindication upon precedent and long established practice. These, they insisted, gave each nation a kind of prescriptive right to surprize cities and fortresses even in times of peace without any previous ceremony or notification, provided no lines of circumvallation were drawn, nor regular intrenchments formed, and that the attack was not continued above three days. At this distance of time it is difficult to decide which of the governments was right, the one that brought the charge, or the one that endeavoured to rebut it. But it certainly does appear a kind of solecism, to consider that as a peace which "gives no assured respite from "war," or which can be justly violated without the form of any previous notification.

Fortune, in the commencement of this war, balanced her favours pretty evenly between the belligerent powers. At all events they were so evenly balanced as to give the Musulmans no reason to despond. Muley had a considerable train of artillery; his army was formidable, and his coffers were well filled. But all these advantages were ineffectualized by his own imprudence.

It was the misfortune of the Grenadian prince, though he commanded others, to be himself commanded by a favourite mistress, and to doat on her to such excess, as to let his passion triumph over his prudence. At her

instigation he had been induced to repudiate his queen Aixa, a descendant of one of the first families in Grenada. It was impossible for such an insult to be passed over lightly, or that her whole family should not be implicated in her resentments. The injured princess accordingly contrived to win over her son Boabdil, the presumptive heir of the crown, to espouse her quarrel; and erect the fatal standard of rebellion against his father. By this revolt Muley Hassem was forced to fly his capital, and, Boabdil assuming the reins of government, a civil war was kindled up between father and son for a prize, which Ferdinand was preparing to wrest from both for ever. This contest between the father and son, produced a third competitor in Zagal, the brother of Muley Hassem, who rested his hopes of success on the credit of a battle which he had recently gained over the Spaniards at Malaga. Thus, by one trespass of her liege sovereign, Grenada was exposed to the joint assaults of three different factions at once, and "for the king's offence the people died."

While the unhappy city was torn by these dissensions, Boabdil perceiving the opinions of his friends a little shaken, and their zeal to abate, thought it adviseable to attempt some exploit which might reanimate their hopes, and if possible augment the number of his adherents. He accordingly directed his arms against Lucena, expecting to carry that city by surprise. But the blow which he meditated against the Spaniards

recoiled with augmented violence upon his own head. His army was routed and nearly cut to pieces, and, being himself intercepted in flight, he was reserved to be exhibited as the first instance of a Moorish king, who had ever fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Ferdinand sent his royal prisoner to Cordova, where he was treated with all possible respect, that he might be properly supplied to the purposes of the conqueror, and produced afterwards as a master trump in the game he was preparing to play.

By the capture of Boabdil, Muley Hassem was enabled to reassume the crown, of which he had been recently dispossessed. But such was the fate of this distracted kingdom, that all efforts to save it proved hopeless, and ineffectual. Ferdinand, who from the very commencement of his reign, had projected the subversion of the Musulman power in Spain, had put himself at the head of an army, consisting of forty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry. With this formidable force he commenced his operations by laying waste the fauxbourgs of Ylorca, and all the country that lay in his line of march. Having thus far completed his operations, and rased the city of Tanjore, he proceeded directly to invest Grenada, where the infatuated Musulmans were busily employed in tearing each other to pieces, and dyeing the hands of fratricide with daily victims to its ferocity.

Ferdinand, who was well informed of what passed in the devoted city, determined now to prepare the way for his master stroke of policy by bringing once more his puppet Boabdil upon the stage. It was agreed that the Moorish monarch should be set at liberty, on condition, that he acknowledged himself his vassal and did homage to him for his crown : That Ferdinand should be instantly put in possession of certain posts of great strength and importance, and that Boabdil should pay him annually a tribute of twelve hundred gold crowns. In return for these sacrifices, the Castilians simply engaged to assist him against his father, and reinstate him on the throne. The base Boabdil, having subscribed these hard conditions, was dismissed to carry them into effect, or, to speak more properly, to direct his last parricidal efforts against his father and his country.

From this period Grenada became a vast shamble of indiscriminate slaughter, in which Muley Hassem, Zagal, and Boabdil were the principal agents, each contending to excel the other in cruelty and to accelerate the ruin of his kindred and friends. While they were indulging in these excesses, the Spaniards had only to walk leisurely from conquest to conquest ; at one time, affecting to assist Boabdil as their ally ; at another to exact the performance of his late stipulations. Wherever they interfered, under whatever pretence, the flames of

discord invariably raged more fiercely, enabling them to seize upon different cities in succession, in which, while they stuck at no promises to conciliate the people, they were nevertheless minutely exact in plundering and persecuting all descriptions of them alike.

While these excesses were at the height, the old Muley Hassem died, some say being murdered by his brother, but according to others, of excessive grief, for the calamities he had occasioned. Ferdinand profited of this incident, to seize the strong posts of Ylorca and Mecklin; one considered by the Moors, as the right eye of their capital, the other, as its buckler or shield. By this seizure he obtained a perfect command over the whole western part of Grenada.

Boabdil now found himself reduced to the necessity of proposing a compromise with Zagal by the partition of his kingdom, by which he made over Guadix to his competitor, and reserved Grenada to himself. But this partition, instead of proving a prop to his declining power, served only to accelerate its fall. It had no other effect than to open new sources of jealousy and discord between the different factions. At length the criminal Zagal, in despair of being able to retain what had been allotted to him, made over his portion to Ferdinand for an annual pension. This transfer was no sooner made, than

the Christian monarch possessed himself of his purchase ; and the traitor who transferred it, was received into his army, where he became a passive spectator of the surrender of his native city, and the humiliating consequences of his fatal and unprincipled ambition !

CHAPTER THE NINTH.

BOABDIL'S EXCESSES.—CONTRAST BETWEEN THE TWO
POWERS.—CONFLAGRATION IN THE SPANISH CAMP.
—CITY OF SANTA FE FOUNDED.—CAPITULATION OF
GRENADA.—REFLECTIONS.

AFTER the transfer made by the unprincipled Zagal, nothing remained to the Moors but Grenada, in which Boabdil, maddened by disappointments, was venting his fury indiscriminately on all orders of his subjects. By these excesses, Ferdinand was encouraged to throw aside the mask he had worn so long, and lay open claim to the fleece for which he had thus far only indirectly contended. Under pretence of a treaty to that effect, he summoned Boabdil to deliver up his capital, giving him at the same time to understand, that his refusal would only draw down the heaviest punishments upon himself and his people.

Boabdil denied the existence of the alledged treaty in the

most unqualified terms, and accompanied his denial with the strongest reproaches and protestations against the perfidy of the claimant. But both reproaches and protestations were now equally ineffectual. The doom of Grenada had been long sealed in the Spanish cabinet. The definitive fiat had been issued, and the devoted victim of royal perfidy and injustice had only the choice of two alternatives, either to resign his kingdom without a struggle, or to stake his last hope upon the precarious cast of war. He accordingly preferred the latter; and his determination was no sooner announced than the Catholic monarch at the head of sixty thousand men (for his army had been by this time considerably augmented,) proceeded to lay siege to Grenada in form.

This city, as we have already observed, was surrounded with a very strong wall, flanked by a thousand and thirty towers, and by a variety of other stupendous works all equally calculated for defence. She contained besides upwards of two hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants capable of bearing arms, and among these most of her distinguished warriors; all rendered more furious by despair, a principle, which, under any other leader than Boabdil, must doubtless have rendered them invincible.

But misfortunes seem to have impaired the intellects of the infatuated monarch. As his power declined, he became more

furious, consigning his most faithful adherents to the sword of the executioner, upon the slightest and most frivolous pretences. By these violences, he had drawn upon himself the contempt, as well as the hatred of his subjects; who nicknamed him in derision Zagoybi, or the Little King. Thus one spirit of disaffection pervaded all the tribes, but particularly the tribe of the Abencerrages* the most powerful of any, and Alfaquis and Imans loudly predicted the approaching dissolution of the empire; an event certainly too obvious to require the predictions of either Imans or Alfaquis. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? All respect for the royal authority had vanished, all the bonds of union were broken; what then could be done to avert the intended blow? What even could ward it off for a season? What, but that rooted dread of Spanish bigotry and superstition which the Moors, surely not without reason, had always harboured?

While these ill omened symptoms manifested themselves within the walls of Grenada, how opposite the scenes which presented themselves without? There all was union, all mildness and harmony, all one settled calm. There the efforts of all uniformly tended to one central point, and the spirits of the soldiery were of course proportionably elated. They contemplated their past successes with wonder and astonishment,

* Note (X).

regarding them as so many miracles, that had been wrought in their favour, and as an earnest of preternatural encouragement to the completion of their glories. They saw themselves headed and led on by chiefs whom they adored;—by Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz; by Henry Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia; by Mendoza, Aguillar, Villena, the renowned Gonzalvo,* and a clustre of other heroes, under whose banners they deemed themselves invincible.

But to complete these encouragements, their courage was further animated by the presence of the Queen. Isabella, whose affability and numberless graces were calculated to excite admiration, as her virtues were to command esteem and veneration, had joined the army of her husband, attended by the Infant and her other children, and by the most splendid court at that time in Europe. Exclusive of her many great and transcendent qualities, this princess was a perfect mistress of her temper, which, though naturally severe, she could modulate at pleasure; and aptly adjust to the exigences of the moment.

No one understood better than she did, the art of qualifying and softening the rigors of military duty by a judicious alloy of pleasing and seasonable recreation. To heighten the

* Note (Y).

charms of the summer nights, (which in that climate are beyond description delightful,) she had introduced into the camp, dances, tournaments, and the various other pastimes then in vogue. Every where it was the Queen who presided. Praise from her lips was considered as the most flattering mark of remuneration. It was coveted and received as such by the meanest soldier, and borne by him as a badge of proud and honourable distinction. Under her auspices in short every thing flourished and was productive ; and, as if to second her happy exertions, abundance pervaded the camp, dispensing the treasures of her ample horn, and infusing hope and confidence in every bosom.

In the city, on the other hand, all was cheerless, gloomy and forbidding. The spirit of concord had abandoned it. Hope had resigned her place to despondency, and all courage was enervated and palsied by jealousy, by mistrust, by consternation, and the petrifying aspect of approaching famine.

Ferdinand, who was aware of what was passing, did not chuse to risk the lives of his people wantonly, by being too eager after a prize, which he knew would, ere long, devolve to him without a struggle. He determined, therefore, to proceed gradually, and converted the siege into a blockade, which continued for nine months. During the greatest part of this term, he was particularly careful not to hazard an action,

contenting himself either with watching the movements of the garrison and repelling their occasional sorties, or with battering the ramparts and keeping them in continual alarm.

While he was intent upon this plan, an accident occurred, which at any other season might have been productive of the most fatal consequences. A fire broke out at night in the Queen's tent, and as this, like all the others, was formed of the dried branches of trees interwoven or laced together, the flames spread with such rapidity, that, in the course of the night, the greatest part of the camp was consumed. Fortunately for the Spaniards, the accident had no further result, than the loss of a part of their baggage. On the second day succeeding this event, order was completely restored, and the Queen, to convince the enemy that the siege would not be quickly raised, directed on the instant a city to be constructed on the scite of her former camp.

This extraordinary and grand conceit, every way worthy the genius of Isabella, was executed with such dispatch, that, in less than eighty days, the whole was completed and walled in, and the army quietly established in the new habitations. This city still exists under the name of Santa Fé; the name originally given to it by the illustrious foundress. When this work was completed, the Spaniards began to act offensively,

by seizing some new posts, interrupting the enemy's convoys, and committing various depredations in the neighbouring mountains.

Thus Boabdil found himself not only harrassed perpetually, but daily more and more circumscribed. At length, being defeated in all the skirmishes that took place under the walls of the city, being cut off from all hopes of succour from Africa, and further exposed to all the multiplied horrors of famine, he was reduced to the necessity of proposing a capitulation, of which Gonsalvo de Cordova was appointed to regulate the articles.

The principal stipulations in this famous treaty, were, that the gates of the city and fortresses of Alhambra and Albazin should be delivered up within sixty days. That Ferdinand and the kings of Castile, his successors, should be acknowledged the liege sovereigns of Grenada, and Boabdil do homage to him accordingly: that all Christian slaves should be liberated unransomed. And finally, that five hundred children of the principal families should be delivered up, within ten days after the signing of the treaty, as hostages for its ratification.

In return for these concessions, it was agreed, that the

Moors should retain their horses, their arms, with the exception of cannon or other artillery, and their properties entire: that they should keep also the half of their mosques, be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and preserve their judges, laws and customs; that they should be exempted from all taxes and imposts for the term of three years, to commence from the ratification of the treaty; and, at the expiration of this term be subjected to no others than those they had heretofore paid their kings: that such as wished to pass into Africa, or elsewhere, should retire unmolested with their effects, and be supplied with the vessels requisite for their transportation free of all expence. And finally, that a rich and fertile district in the Apulxares should be allotted to Boabdil, which he might retire to or dispose of at pleasure.

Such was the capitulation of Grenada! a capitulation which, it is scarcely necessary to add, professed too much to be scrupulously adhered to. The treaty was on the point of being broke on the very evening after it was signed, the Imans having spirited up the people to make one desperate effort to save their city, or, in case of failure, to bury themselves under its ruins. The discovery of this plot determined the dastardly Boabdil to deliver it up before the stipulated term. Accordingly, under the pretext of complimenting Ferdinand with a magnificent present of a sabre enriched with diamonds and

two horses splendidly accoutred, he sent a letter informing him of the projected plot, and inviting him to take possession of the capital, which he gave him to understand he would be ready to deliver up on the following morning.

It is hardly possible to describe the joy of the army when the contents of this letter were made public. Ferdinand received it on the first day of the year fourteen hundred and ninety, and on the day succeeding, having placed himself at the head of his forces, which were formed in order of battle, he began his march towards Alhambra.

Never had a more brilliant or grateful spectacle been exhibited to the Spaniards. The cavalcade was headed by the king, and, a few paces behind, came the queen and royal children. These were followed by the great officers of the household and the principal grandees of the kingdom, all decorated with their different insignia and dressed in their most splendid and costly habits. In short the whole line of march was one continued glare of gold and jewels.

As soon as the procession appeared in sight of the Alhambra, Boabdil, escorted by fifty horse and the principal officers of his court, went out to meet it. When he approached Ferdinand, he dismounted and offered to kiss his hand, which

ceremony, however, this latter dispensed with. The humiliated and degraded prince is then said to have addressed his master as follows :

“ Great king, our destiny is in your hands. We deliver
“ up our city and kingdom to you, both equally belonging to
“ you of right, and we commit ourselves and our families to
“ your clemency.” At the conclusion of this address, he presented the keys of the town and castle to the king, who presented them in his turn to the queen. From her they were passed over to her son Don Juan, who delivered them to the Count de Tendrilla, the newly appointed governor of Grenada.

These, and the other requisite ceremonies being ended, Boabdil quitted his capital, and, within a few days after, began his journey to the district that had been allotted him, accompanied by his family, and (such is the fate of fallen majesty !) by a very inconsiderable body indeed of his former attendants. From the summit of Mount Padul, which commanded an entire view of Grenada, he turned to take a farewell view of that justly celebrated city, and the tears were observed to trickle silently down his cheeks. “ My son,” said his mother Aixa to him, “ you may well bewail, like a woman, “ the loss of a throne, which, as a man, you had not courage “ to defend.”

As soon as the necessary preparations could be arranged, the two monarchs made their public entry into Grenada, between a double range of soldiers, and under one incessant roar of artillery. During the whole of the ceremony the houses to appearance were deserted, the Moors having secreted themselves in the most retired parts of them to conceal their tears and their despair. The grand mosque had been converted for the occasion, with the usual ceremonies, into a church. Thither the monarchs proceeded to celebrate a Te Deum in thankfulness for their transcendent successes; and, while the service was performing, the marquis of Tendrilla, the new governor, caused the cross to be displayed triumphantly, between the standards of Calatrava and St. James, upon the highest pinnacle of the Alhambra.

Thus fell the justly celebrated city of Grenada! Thus after a period of seven hundred and ninety two years, computing from the conquest, terminated the empire of the Moors in Spain!

It may not be amiss to notice in this place some few of the causes which conduced to their decline and final overthrow. The first must undoubtedly be sought in the character itself of the people. In that love of novelty, that eternal restlessness and inconstancy which disposed them to change their governors so often and upon such frivolous pretences. By

this master infirmity, factions were multiplied, discord and divisions perpetuated, and those energies, which should have been directed to one common centre, suffered to diverge, and to be wasted in idle and destructive conflicts among themselves.

They had further to blame that extravagant turn for magnificence and shew, which was so prominently conspicuous in all their pleasures and pursuits ; in their feasts, in their shews, their buildings, and even their wars. These expences, which were not only enormous, but excessive beyond all bounds, were so many constant drains upon their treasures ; and these were felt the more severely, because the wars in which they were almost always engaged, gave no leisure to the country, notwithstanding its extreme, incredible fertility, to repair the wastes which they occasioned.

But, above all, the Grenadians wanted good laws ;—the only solid basis of national establishments and prosperity. Their government was a despotism ; a species of government invariably weak and ricketty, upon which no political nostrum has ever yet been devised to confer either moderate strength, or reasonable stability. Under the iron rod of the despot, man knows no ties of kindred, no country, no affections. What patrimony or interest can the sage or statesman claim

in his knowledge or his virtues? In knowledge and virtues which carry with them no assured prospect of permanent benefit to himself or his family, which must inevitably entail either envy or jealousy, or both, upon the unfortunate possessor, and at last, too frequently conduct him either to death or to perpetual imprisonment. Thus circumstanced, virtue and talents are treasures which the possessor must hoard up; which though he may amuse himself in contemplating privately, he can rarely bring into circulation so as to increase the public stock either of moral or intellectual enjoyments.

But these defects, so obviously conducive to the ruin of the Moors, were qualified by principles of humanity, benevolence, and magnanimity, for which even their Christian enemies cannot deny them praise. Though less expert in the art of war, and less disciplined than the Spaniards, in battle they were to the full as calm and brave, and in an attack perhaps superior. Adversity never depressed them long. They regarded it as a kind of manifestation of the divine will, and as such submitted to it without repining or complaint; which perhaps is partly imputable to their received notions of fatalism.

The Moors of Grenada, being rigid observers of the Mahometan law, practised charity in its utmost extent. They not only gave bread and money to their poor, but shared

with them a portion of their fruits, their grain, their flocks and merchandize. Their sick, whether in town or country, were always assisted with equal tenderness and humanity.

They were also particularly observant of the laws of hospitality. This duty, at all times a most sacred one among the Moors, was always rigidly adhered to at Grenada. The Grenadians did not confine themselves to the ordinary and circumscribed practice of it, but made it their particular pursuit, and seemed to take a singular delight in conforming to it through all its ramifications.

Such were the celebrated Moors! Such the people so much calumniated by historians! By bigots blinded by prejudices, fanaticism or ignorance, who either did not know how to appreciate, or were base enough to deny them the inheritance of, these sublime virtues! It is to authors of this stamp that such of this unfortunate nation as remained at Grenada, have to impute the severe and unparalleled persecutions instituted against them. The part of the treaty which pretended to secure them their form of worship, was almost instantly infringed by the Spaniards, and numbers of them even compelled to abjure their faith by terrors, torments, and every species of indignity.

Irritated by these faithless vexations, this cruel and sense-

less mockery of all public faith, the persecuted and unhappy people rose upon their oppressors, thinking to exact by force what had been most unjustly denied to their humbler supplications. But all their efforts were ineffectual. Ferdinand marched in person against them, and massacring many of those whom he thought fit to term rebels, compelled above fifty thousand others to seek protection under the cloak of apostacy, and embrace doctrines which they insurmountably detested.

These persecutions were zealously revived by Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, the immediate successors of Ferdinand ; informations, tortures and all the inquisitorial refinements of cruelty being practised for the conversion of the unconvinced Musulmans. Such were the arguments resorted to, to gain proselytes to a faith, by which persecution is positively prohibited, and whose amiable and characteristic attributes are charity and brotherly forbearance. To conclude this disgusting recital, the property of this unfortunate people, that property which stood guaranteed upon the basis of solemn treaties, came at last to be considered and treated as so much authorized plunder, the most trifling pretexts, the flimsiest charges being admitted legal grounds for seizure and confiscation.

Roused by these harsh and oppressive vexations ; and in-

stigated by despair, the Moors once more sought redress by arms, and amply retaliated on the Christian priests, who were justly regarded as the arch-contrivers of their sufferings. On this occasion they chose Mahomet ben Ommiad, descended from the Ommiades, as their king. Under this leader many desperate battles were fought in the Apulxares, which almost always terminated in favour of the Moors. But this bright dawn in their fortunes was soon overcast. After a reign of two years, Mahomet was basely murdered by one of his own people. The same fate unhappily attended his successor, and in consequence of these losses, the Moors were compelled to resume a yoke, which, by their ineffectual resistance, was rendered infinitely more galling and intolerable than ever.

Finally, Philip the Third banished them entirely from Spain, and the depopulation occasioned by this impolitic and perfidious edict gave a wound to the Spanish monarchy under which it has always smarted, the effects of which it feels at this day. Near one hundred thousand of the unhappy exiles were suffered to pass into France; where Henry the Fourth, no less good than great, caused them to be treated with all possible humanity. A very inconsiderable proportion of them was, till lately, to be met with in the Apulxares, where they gave silent but damning evidence against the inactivity and indolence of their tyrants. But the far greater part returned

to Africa. There their descendants of our day drag on their miserable existence under the savage despot of Morocco. But, while they groan under this ordeal of African caprice and barbarity, they still call to mind, with bitterest regret, the paradise they have forfeited, and set apart every Friday to do homage to their prophet, and pester Heaven with ineffectual, but no doubt fervent prayers for their speedy restoration to Grenada!!!

END OF BOOK IV.

APPENDIX

TO THE

FOURTH BOOK.

NOTE (A). *Arm of Grenada, &c.*

THIS kingdom, part of the ancient Bœtica, was once inhabited by the Bastuli, Sexitani, &c. It is about seventy leagues in length by thirty wide. The principal rivers are, 1st, the Zenil, which rises above the city; and after watering the country round Loxa, enters Andalousia. 2nd, The Rio Fio, so called from the coldness of the waters. These take their source in the mountains of Alhamar, in the heart of Grenada; and discharge themselves in the Mediterranean near the Port of Torres. 3rd, Guadalquivirijo, or Little Guadalquiver, which rises at Munda, and loses itself in the sea at Malaga. 4th, The Guadalentin, which has its source in the environs of Guadix, and takes a serpentine course running from west to east, as if expressly going out of its way, to serve the little kingdom of Murcia. 5th, The Darro, whose waters are said to be very salutary to all animals that frequent them. For this reason they have been called the flocks bath. “Vulgo autem bal-

“neum pecoribus salutiferum dicitur, eo quod hæc aqua
“omnia morborum genera in animalibus curet.” Vid. De-
script. Grenad. George Bruin, Francis Hagenburg. The
river takes its names from the golden sands over which it rolls,
quia dat aurum. When Charles the Fifth visited Grenada
with the empress Isabella in 1526, the city presented him with
a crown made of the gold that was collected in the Darro.

Grenada is intersected in all directions by lofty mountains,
interspersed in most beautiful and delicious vallies. Of these
the Apulxares, from whose lofty summits the coast of Barbary
and the city of Tangiers are discernible, are the most deserv-
ing notice. It is in the heart of these mountains that they
say some remnants of the unfortunate Moors are still to be
met with, who, we are told, inherit the active and industrious
spirit of their ancestors. They cultivate the vine with success,
making a considerable quantity of excellent wine; for which,
as well as their choice fruits, they find a market at Velez
Malaga and other parts of the neighbouring coasts.

The Apulxares are 17 leagues in length, measuring from
Velez Malaga to Almeria, and about eight in breadth. They
abound in fruits of immense size, and exquisite flavour and
beauty.

The principal cities of Grenada in our days, are Grenada,
Guadix, Bassa, Guescar, Loxa, Santa Fé, Alhamar, Ante-
querra, Estopa, Velez Malaga, Almeria and Malaga.

Grenada had twenty gates of entrance. The gate of

Elzera, of Bibelmazach, or Conversation, because it served, like our Exchange, for a rendezvous for the merchants. The Gate of Viverambla, leading to a famous place of that name which is still to be seen. Bibracah, or the Gate of Provisions; Bitaubia, or the Hermit's Gate, leading to divers cells and solitudes frequented by these venerable fathers. Biblacha, or the Fish Gate; the Gate of the Mills; the Gate of the Sun, so called because it opened to the east; Alhambra; Bid Adam, or the Bones of Adam; Bidlieda, or the Gate of Nobility, *which the Moors kept long shut from an old prediction that the enemy which was one day to subvert their laws and religion would enter by that gate*; Fauxalauza; of the Almond Trees; of the Lions; of the Coasts; of the Banners or Standards, now the Magdalen Gate; of the Moraqua; and one or two more.

NOTE (B). *Little kingdom of Murcia, &c.*

This is the smallest of all the kingdoms, of which the Spanish monarchy is composed. Its principal cities are Murcia, Carthagená, and Lorca. It produces great quantities of silk at this day, for which it is beholden to the Moors, who not only introduced the mulberry tree, but taught the Spaniards how to rear the worm and prepare the silk. Murcia is said to contain more than three hundred and fifty thousand mulberry trees, and to produce annually about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds of silk. Antecedent to the arrival of the Moors, this capital was comparatively but an insignificant village wholly eclipsed by Carthagená. It

was indebted for its subsequent celebrity to these conquerors, in whose possession it remained about six hundred and fifteen years.

The Moors did not attack this city till they had reduced Cordova, Malaga, Grenada, and Jaen; and when they did attack it, insignificant as it then appeared, they met with a sturdy resistance. The Murcians sallied out bravely to meet their assailants, and the two armies engaged in a plain, which, on account of the bloody battle that ensued, is called at this day Sangocina, the name then given it.

The Spaniards or Goths fought so obstinately that the greatest part was left dead on the field of battle. In this extremity the governor ordered the gates to be made fast and all the women to present themselves on the ramparts dressed like men, while he himself went out to propose articles of capitulation. By this stratagem he obtained advantageous terms, the Moors concluding from the numbers they saw parading on the walls that the city was prepared for a desperate resistance, and of course their success doubtful. Though the stratagem thus practised could not be concealed from them, they still adhered to the treaty.

Murcia was recovered from the Moors in the year twelve hundred and forty-one by Don Ferdinand, son of Alphonso.

NOTE (C). *Sealed the doom of the city, &c.*

THE Romans in granting the privileges of a colony to this city called it Julia Romula. By the Goths, it was called Hispalia, by the Arabs or Moors, Isbellia. It is said to have been founded by Hercules, and has upon the gate called the Flesh Gate, leading to the market, the following inscription :

Condidit Alcides, renovavit Julius Urbem,
Restituit Christo Fernandus tertius Heros.

Many statues, both of Hercules and Cæsar, are still extant in this city. Of the many Hercules, noticed in fables, two are said to have certainly visited Spain; the Lybian and the Theban. The latter in particular we are told came to Cadiz with the Argonauts, and proceeded thence to Gibraltar, and founded the city of Heraclium. This Hercules is supposed to have lived near twelve hundred years after the one which has been so much celebrated for his strength, his courage, and his twelve labours. To which of them, if either, we are to attribute the merit of founding Seville, it is impossible to say. But there are those who pretend to be convinced that the Lybian Hercules died at Cadiz.

The lands round Seville were in high cultivation in the times of the Moors, and the country so remarkable for its fertility, that it was called Hercules's garden. Its principal production was oil, and when it fell to Ferdinand it was said to contain near one hundred thousand oil mills. The environs are very

agreeable at this day ; but, can they be compared to what they were in the times of the Moors, when one hundred thousand towns, villages and hamlets were to be reckoned round Cordova ? This number is now reduced to about two hundred, and consequently the population in proportion, for which Roderigo de Caco endeavours to account in his celebrated History of the Antiquity of Seville.

“ The population and number of settlements under the “ Moors,” says this ingenious author, “ are to be traced to “ the dispositions of the people, who, being extremely sensual, increased and multiplied wherever they found themselves.” Does our author forget, or did he not think it expedient to recollect, that since the times of the Moors, a very considerable and pious class of men has been condemned to celibacy, and even bound themselves to it, under the strictest vows, whose labours in other countries, where no such sentence is passed, are crowned with complete success, and found extremely useful to population ; and who certainly cannot, with the slightest shadow of reason, be deemed a sensual order of men.

NOTE (D). *Alphonso the Sage, &c.*

It was this prince that said jestingly, If he had been of God's council when he created the world, he could have given good advice. A pleasantry certainly not very indicative of his right to the epithet with which he had been complimented ! He is said, however, to have been a great astro-

nomer, and gained credit by the Alphonsine tables. His collection of laws, *Las Partidas*, proves at all events that he had the welfare of his people at heart. It is in this collection we find the following remark from a king of the thirteenth century. "The despot either bleeds the tree too much, or kills it. The patriot monarch prunes and protects it."

NOTE (E). *Imperial crown, &c.*

ALPHONSO was elected in twelve hundred and fifty seven, but too far removed from Germany, and too much occupied with the dissensions in his own kingdom to be able to support his election. In twelve hundred and seventy eight, he made a journey to Rome to plead his cause before the sovereign Pontiff. The Pope, however, decided in favour of Rodolph of Hapsburg, the stock from which the house of Austria claims its descent.

NOTE (F). *Sancho continued, &c.*

THE elder brother of this prince, Ferdinand, called De la Cerda, was a mild and virtuous prince; he left two children, both very young, by his wife Blanche of Castile, daughter of Saint Louis, king of France. It was to deprive these children of the crown that the ambitious Sancho took arms against his father. He succeeded indeed, but the princes, who were protected by France and Arragon, occasioned great disturbances

in Castile, and if they did not actually cause, at least furnished the pretext for a great deal of bloodshed.

NOTE (G). *Into Andalousia, &c.*

THIS kingdom is divisible into two parts, the Upper and the Lower. It obtained its name from the Vandals. The Romans called it Bætica, from the river Bœtis, now the Guadalquivir, that runs through it. It is about one hundred leagues in length, by sixty in breadth, and, what has always added much to its importance, occupies about sixty leagues of coast. It is not only the largest province in Spain, but the most abundant in flocks and mines. Above all it has been particularly famed for its excellent breed of horses, the most esteemed of which come from the environs of Baeza.

The principal cities of Andalousia are Seville, Cadiz, Cordova, Jaen and Ecija. It has, besides, many towns and villages. But it has many large districts uncultivated at this time, being one of the kingdoms which has suffered most by the edicts against the Moors.

NOTE (H). *Rival Cordova, &c.*

THIS city has no traces of her ancient grandeur except what are to be discovered in the great square, and amid the mouldering rubbish of the celebrated mosque completed by Abdelzamin. This mosque was converted by the Spa-

niards into a cathedral, or church, part of which is only now remaining. But, such as it is, nothing could excell it in point of grandeur, if the width corresponded with the extent. It has at this time seventeen doors of entrance, all decorated in Arabesque, or other ornaments in bronze. The arch is supported by three hundred and sixty pillars in alabaster, jasper, or marble, each pillar thirty feet high, by one and a half in diameter. The proportions are certainly not Grecian! In this building a little chapel is still preserved, in which the Alcoran is said to be deposited. It is full of Cordovian inscriptions. The Cordovians believe, and take great pains to make travellers believe, that the Moors pay every year a tribute to Spain, to prevent any Christian images being placed in it.

NOTE (I). *The Gate of Judgment, &c.*

OVER this gate are the following inscriptions:

“ This gate called the Gate of Judgment,—God grant
 “ for its existence felicity to the Believers,—was erected by
 “ our Lord, King and Emperor Abulhaggehg, son of
 “ the warrior King, the Just Abelqualid, the son of Nazar.”

“ May God grant his blessing on the works he con-
 “ structed for the benefit of our nation, and take this
 “ building, raised for his glory, under his protection!”

“ God strengthen the foundation and the period of its
 “ elevation in the memory of posterity!”

On the side of this inscription are two marble plates containing the following short sentences in Arabic :

“ Praise be to God.”

“ There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is the Prophet of God.”

“ Without God all strength is vain.”

Above these inscriptions we see a key and a hand (of which I shall treat more fully in Note S), contenting myself for the present with observing, That the key and the hand are the great symbols of the Musulman faith. The Alcoran mentioning, or alluding every where to “ The all-powerful hand of God, which conducts Believers in the true way ;” and “ The key of God which opens the gates of religion and the world.”

Among the Hebrews and Arabs, the tribunals of justice were always at the gate, and it is on this principle that in Asia, when speaking of Constantinople, the distinguishing terms of the Port, and the Sublime Port, are always used.

NOTE (K). *Foreign to our purpose, &c.*

The palace was built with the money Charles extorted from the Moors under the pretence of allowing them liberty of conscience. They advanced sixteen hundred thousand ducats at two instalments, for which they obtained promises

indeed in plenty, but nothing more; being forced to apostatize, or, if they refused, exposed to the most unmerciful persecutions.

NOTE (L). *The Mescar, &c.*

THE Mescar or Mesuar, now called los Array Janes, was paved with large square panes of white marble, half of which are now destroyed, and the remainder overrun with moss and weeds. You see in the centre a straight bason, almost the length of the court, which is an oblong square. At the two extremities are four slender Gothic columns supporting two handsome galleries, the walls of which are adorned with figures dividing many Arabian letters, which, joined together, form different sentences. Such as

“ God is the sovereign good. The great Director of
“ the universe. He is full of goodness and compassion,
“ for those who are themselves compassionate and good.”

“ God alone is conqueror.”

“ Honour and prosperity to our lord Abdallah.”

On the outside of the gate opening to this apartment, we read the following:

“ If thou admirest my beauty without thinking of God,
“ the fountain of all goodness, I tell thee it is folly. But
“ if thou art mindful to shew reverence where it is due,
“ thou mayest turn thy admiration to thy profit. — Other-
“ wise God can inflict death upon thee.”

Again,

“ O thou, who regardest this marble so pure, so admirable for the beauty of the workmanship, and for its whiteness, be attentive to its preservation, and that it may long retain its present perfection, protect it with thy hand and thy five fingers,” (vide Note S).

NOTE (M). *And to the heart, &c.*

THE Generaliffe is said to have been constructed by a prince of the name of Omar, who used to retire thither to indulge in his favourite recreation. The word signifies the house of love, dancing and music. From the mountain on which this charming palace was built, the waters spout in torrents in every direction, forming beautiful cascades or fountains in the gardens, the courts, and the very halls. Over a window in the hall of entrance we meet the following :

“ This window at the entrance of this happy palace is dedicated to the pleasure of the nobility. The charming prospects it affords, delight the eye and exalt the soul. Let us give thanks to God.”

In another part,

“ Charming palace ! how noble dost thou appear !”

“ Thy splendour vies with thy majesty.”

“ Thy light enlivens and decorates all around thee.”

"Thou art worthy all praise."

"Thy aspect is divine."

"Thy gardens are adorned with flowers, sending forth
 "constantly the sweetest perfumes from the stocks on
 "which they repose. The friendly breeze moves thy
 "orange trees to diffuse around the rich odour of their
 "blossoms. There is music in the rustling of thy thickets.
 "Every thing around is full of harmony and beauty."

"Abulgali, thou best of kings, protector of the law
 "and of all true believers! thou art the great object of my
 "esteem and veneration. This apartment, dedicated to
 "thee, is so perfect, and so solid, that its duration can only
 "be measured by that of our holy sect. It is the triumph
 "of art, and the prodigy of genius."

NOTE (N). *The Summoned, &c.*

HE received his surname from the following circumstance. In a paroxysm of rage, to which the best of kings are sometimes subject, he condemned two brothers of the name of Carvajal, who were accused of murder but not convicted, to be thrown from a high rock. The persons thus sentenced made the most solemn protestations of innocence to the last; but finding all their protestations vain, they appealed to God, and cited their judge to appear in his presence within thirty days, to answer for this criminal abuse of his power. It is said that exactly at the expiration of this term, Ferdinand, then on his march against the Moors, was found dead on his bed where

he had retired to take his afternoon's siesta. This incident was regarded by the superstitious Moors as a judgment!!!

NOTE (O). *An asylum at Tariffe, &c.*

THE Moors besieged Tariffe after it had fallen into the hands of Sancho the Brave. It was during this siege we find an example of Stoical firmness and inflexibility equal to any in the Greek or Roman history. The besiegers having taken the son of Alphonso de Gusman, the governor, in a sortie conducted him under the walls, giving his father to understand that he should be instantly put to death if the fortress was not surrendered. The inflexible governor hearing this threat threw a dagger off the walls and withdrew. Scarcely had he turned his back, than he heard a loud groan from the ramparts. What is the matter, demanded the Stoic? The Moors, replied an officer, have murdered your brave son. Is that all? said Alphonso, then God be praised, I was apprehensive they had found their way into the city.

NOTE (P). *Algexiras, &c.*

THE name signifies an island, and such this city is. It is surrounded entirely by the river Xucar and accessible only by stone bridges. The environs produced a considerable quantity of fruits, rice and grain of every kind in abundance. The sugar cane was also cultivated here with great success, but, as

sugar has been since obtained from the West Indies at a cheaper rate, the culture of this most grateful luxury has been abandoned.

NOTE (Q). *Ines de Castro, &c.*

PETER would have been entitled to compassion, if his love for Ines had not made him so cruelly vindictive on her murderers. The offenders were three principal lords of his court, Gonsalez, Alphonso, and Coëllo. When the murder was committed he was only prince of Portugal, but no sooner did he ascend the throne than he prevailed on Peter the Cruel to deliver Gonsalez and Coëllo, who had withdrawn to Castile, into his hands. He then caused them to be put to the cruellest tortures in his presence, and, having stretched his vengeance in this respect as far as it could go, ordered their hearts to be torn from them alive. Pacheco escaped into France.

After taking this inhuman satisfaction on her murderers, Peter directed the funeral of Ines to be solemnized with the greatest pomp. The body was clothed in regal robes, and a crown placed upon her livid and disfigured forehead, and all the grandees of the kingdom compelled to do homage to this offensive compound of putrefaction.

NOTE (R). *Celebrated writers, &c.*

WHEN Grenada was taken, Cardinal Ximenes ordered all the copies of the Alcoran that were found to be burnt, and the ignorant soldiery, being eager to obey this order, committed all the manuscripts that fell in their hands indiscriminately to the flames, supposing them all copies of the Alcoran. Thus through ignorance, or superstition, or perhaps both, many valuable works on various branches of science were probably destroyed.

NOTE (S). *Judicial astrology, &c.*

WE remarked in note (K), that the key and the hand were symbols of the Musulman faith. The key among them is pretty much the same as the cross with the Christians, the great badge of their faith. It had the same functions and the same power over the gates of heaven as the key of St. Peter. Thus we find in the Alcoran, “Is not God equally compassionate towards those who write of him, and those who believe in him? Does he not give his legate the power of heaven which is on high, and the fire that is beneath? Does he not give him *the key*, together with the office and *title of Porter*, that he may open the gates of the heavenly mansions to the elect?”

The key was the blazon or coat of arms of the Andalousian Moors, and it was actually borne on their banners when they invaded Spain.

But further, do we not know that Gibraltar or Gibraltath, as it was called by the Moors, received that name because it was as the key which opened the communication between the Mediterranean and Atlantic? Thus the key in the Alhambra may be regarded either as only a simple shield, or as symbolical of the Musulman faith.

The hand which is placed near the key seems to have been placed there equally emblematically, and to have three distinct significations. First, it signified Providence. Secondly, It was considered as a Prototype or abridgment of the law. Its third signification was wholly superstitious.

The hand they say has five fingers, reckoning the thumb as one, four of which have three joints, and the fifth only two. All these are subordinate to the unity of the hand, which is taken to signify the unity of the godhead. As the hand according to this mode of computing contains five fingers, so the Mahometan law contains five fundamental principles. Belief in God and his Prophet, prayer, charity, fasting during the month Rhamadan, and pilgrimage to the temples of Meccha and Medina. Thus then the five fingers may be considered as so many Rosaries intended to remind the Musulman of his several duties!

Each of these dogmas has its modifications corresponding with the joints of the fingers. The two joints in the thumb are considered as emblematic of faith and good works. The others are corresponding emblems of other duties. All these modifications, however, end in the unity of the Godhead, which

the Musulmans have always in their mouth “ La-Ellah-Ela-
“ Allah,” There is no other God but God.

With respect to the third and superstitious signification of the hand, it is to be remarked, that the Arabs were and are still convinced from its structure, that, being an abridgement of their religion, it became a powerful protection against the enemies of their faith; insomuch that the hand when open had the power of appalling or weakening an enemy. They further held that it gave an insight into futurity, enabling those who knew how to cast certain figures upon it, and to vary these figures according to the course of the planets, stars, or the different constellations, not only to foretell events, but to work miracles and enchantments at pleasure.

But does not the hand seem to be held in similar estimation among Europeans even in this more enlightened age? Is it not regularly referred to by our ordinary fortunetellers, as a kind of index or *key*, to their various predictions? Do not chiromancers pretend that every man's destiny is there inscribed? Have not the lineaments, which nature has placed there for her provident purposes, furnished out matter for numberless volumes?

Even in our day the Spanish women, like the African negroes, affix bracelets ornamented with little fingers in ebony, ivory or coral, round the necks or arms of their children, expressly to protect them against enchantments! A superstition certainly derived from the Moors.

NOTE (T). *Subsequiturque decor, &c.*

- " In all she says, in all she does,
" So many charms Aïxa shews,
" We can't admire too highly ;
" But where's the wonder she excels ?
" The lovely wanton works by spells ;
" The Graces aid her slyly.

NOTE (U). *The Abencerrages, &c.*

IN Grenada, the tribes were never confounded. Each had its chief, who was generally the eldest descendent in the male line. The city at this time contained no fewer than thirty distinct tribes, among the most illustrious of which, were the Abencerrages, the Zegrís and Vanelas, the Gomelas, the Maliques Alibes, Almorades, Abidbais, Ganzals, Abenamans, Aliators, Redouans, and Aldoradins.

The Abencerrages were descended from the brave Abenzaho, who accompanied Moussar when he invaded Spain. The Zegrís and Vanelas were descendents of the kings of Fez. The Gomelas from Velez de Gomera, and the Maliques Alibes from the kings of Fez and Morocco.

NOTE (W). *A marriage brought about, &c.*

ISABELLA was first betrothed to Don Carlos, Prince of Vienne, elder brother of Ferdinand, whose life and misfortunes are interesting subjects in Spanish history.

She was afterwards demanded in marriage by many other Princes, by Alphonso King of Portugal; by the Duke of Guienne, brother of Louis the Eleventh, King of France; by the brother of our King Edward; and she was actually affianced to Don Pacheco, Grand Master of Calatrava; but she very wisely chose for herself.

As her match with Ferdinand was strenuously opposed by her brother, she was necessarily obliged to conduct it with great secrecy. The management of it was committed to Carillo Archbishop of Toledo, a man whose life was one tissue of intrigues.

The Archbishop contrived to carry off Isabella from her brother's court, and placed her at Valladolid, at which city Ferdinand met her in disguise, attended only by three or four gentlemen, and the ceremony was conducted without any parade. On this occasion, it is worth remarking, that the young couple, who were destined one day to possess the treasures of the New World, were forced to borrow money from their attendants to defray their expences.

Isabella was a few years older than Ferdinand. Her com-

plexion was rather of the olive cast, but not so much as to take off from the charms of her face, which was both pleasing and interesting. She was under the middle size; her eyes had a tinge of green in them, but were extremely lively and expressive; her hair was a fair flaxen.

Ferdinand was of the middle size; his skin dark, his eyes black and piercing. He was sedate and grave in his carriage, and sober in the extreme, restraining himself to two meals, and never drinking more than twice at each meal.

NOTE (X). *The Abencerrages, &c.*

BOABDIL, upon a false charge advanced against one of this tribe, Mahomet Ebn Zurat, of holding a criminal correspondence with the Queen, had caused many of them to be treacherously murdered in his palace. This fact is recorded in an Arabian manuscript, which I have thought worth giving here, for a kind of singularity in the description.

“ In the name of God the All-merciful! the fountain of all
 “ mercies. Praise be to the Most High. There is no other
 “ God but God. He upholds the good and protects them;
 “ He persecutes and punishes the wicked; He abhors liars
 “ and all evil-doers; He wishes nothing but what is good.
 “ Evil originates with the tempter, who artfully insinuates it
 “ into the heart of man, and man foolishly suffers himself to be
 “ misled by it. It is then he becomes the child of the devil,
 “ who works in him, making his will his own.

“ God has blessed his creature with wisdom, and given him
“ a high sense of rectitude, and if man is not blinded by
“ pride or envy, he can never wander from the right path.

“ The Devil placed envy in the heart of Zulim Zegriss,
“ because Mahomet Ebn Zurrah was exalted in the sight of
“ the King his master. He hated even the family of Ebn
“ Zurrah, who were powerful and rich, and good, because
“ their virtues shone forth like the stars in a summer's night.
“ Ebn Zurrah stood always at the side of the King, and the
“ Queen had named him her counsellor, because the truth
“ never departed from him.

“ Zulim Zegriss and Hazem Gomel came to the King, and
“ said, ‘ O King, dost thou not know that the Queen hath
“ ‘ dishonoured thy bed with Ebn Zurrah, and that it is he
“ ‘ who conspireth against thy throne? Renounce thy Queen,
“ ‘ unless thou meanest to renounce thy life and kingdom.’

“ And the King spake not hereof to the Queen, but called
“ unto him Ebn Zurrah, and his tribe, and in one day caused
“ eighty-six of them to be beheaded. Insomuch that, if God
“ had not been compassionate to protect innocence, not one
“ Abencerrage would have survived that day.

“ And the Queen trusted her defence to the Christians,
“ and noble and valiant Christians came forward to vindicate
“ innocence, before the King and in the presence of all his
“ people. They fought manfully against her accusers, and
“ God put courage into their hearts and strength into their

“ arms, because they fought for the truth. They conquered
 “ each the vile accuser against whom he contended, and the
 “ last of the vanquished Zegrís, the provoker of this horrid
 “ plot, finding himself ready to yield up his wicked spirit,
 “ caused himself to be carried near the King and Queen, and
 “ spake the truth, confessing that envy had poisoned his soul,
 “ and induced him to say the thing that was not. And as
 “ soon as he had made this confession of his wickedness, he
 “ died.

“ And the Christian champions of the Queen, were in
 “ danger of being all taken and slain, but God delivered
 “ them. Not wishing an event so horrible in its nature, in
 “ which God’s justice has been so transcendently manifested,
 “ to be forgot, we have hereunto set our names :

“ ABDALLID MUSACH,
 “ SELIM HAZEL GAZUL,
 “ MAHOMET ABN OMAR.”

NOTE (Y). *Renowned Gonzalvo, &c.*

FERDINAND towards the latter part of his reign became so
 jealous of Gonzalvo’s virtues, that he made a voyage to
 Naples expressly to bring him from thence ; being apprehen-
 sive, that as he was viceroy, if he sent him simply an order to
 return, the people might not only be reluctant to part with
 him, but even tempted, as a tribute to his merits, to place him
 upon the throne of that kingdom. When his services were no

longer required, this truly illustrious personage experienced as much ingratitude as his great counterpart the Cid had done before. He was sent to his estate, where he was suffered to linger out life to a very advanced age, unnoticed and neglected, upon a very slender pittance.

His royal master, who had reaped the fruits of his services, condescended, indeed, at last to acknowledge his worth, by causing such honours to be paid him at his funeral as had till then been paid only to crowned heads.

Thus,

The great have still some kindness in reserve,
They help to bury whom they help'd to starve.

FINIS.

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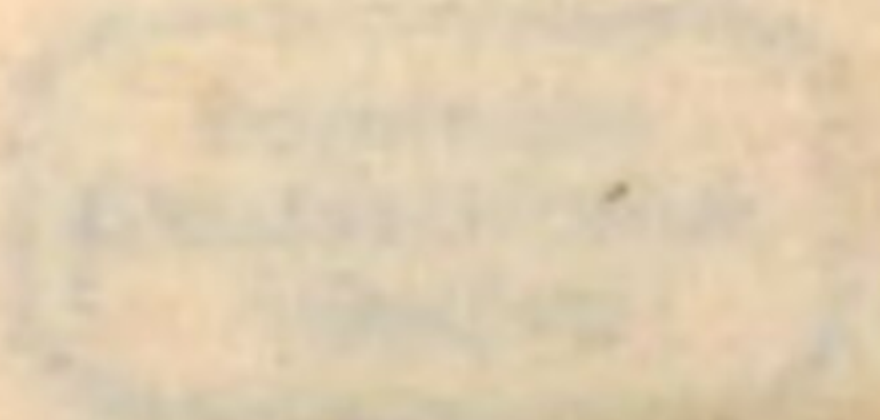
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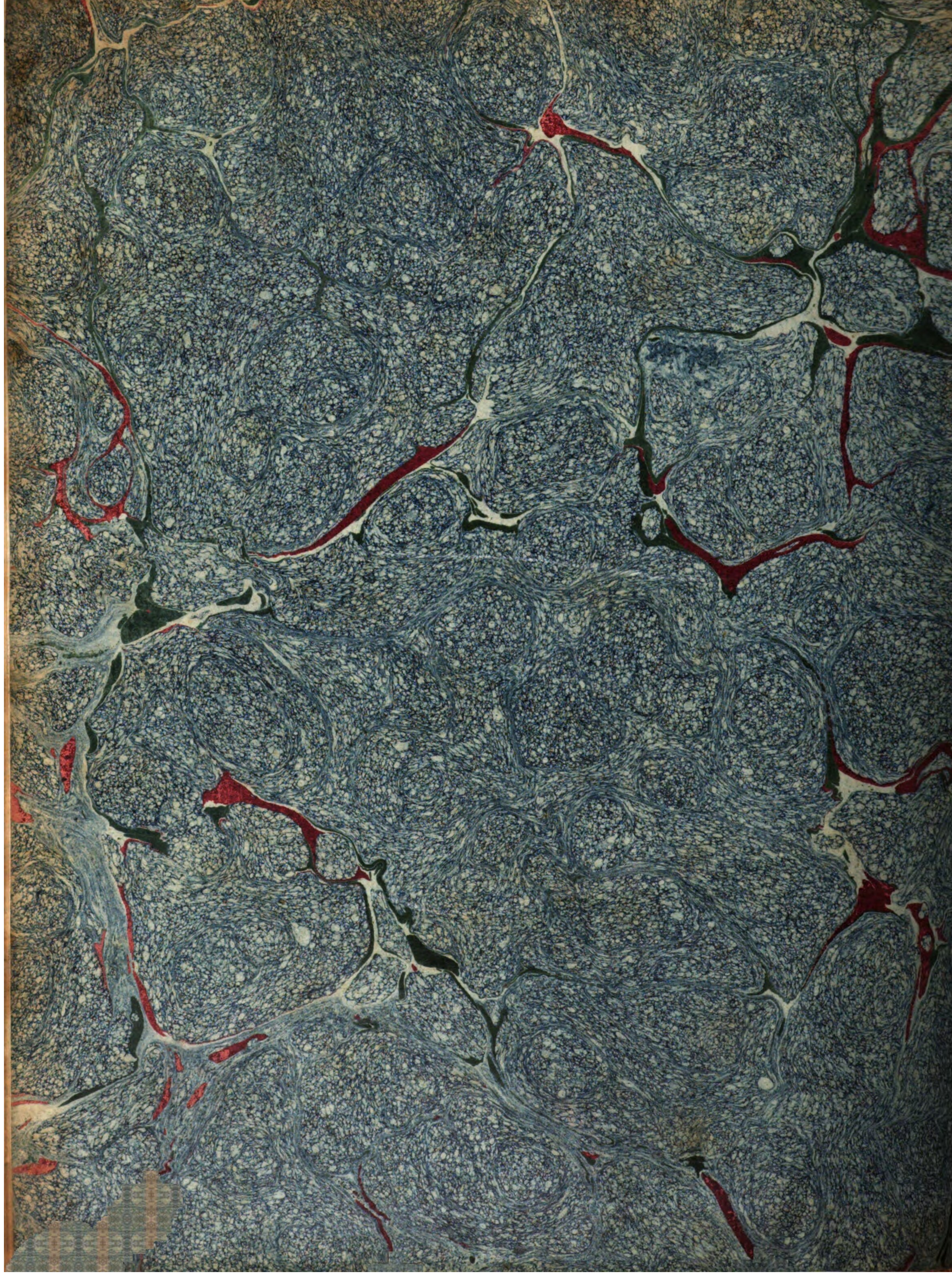
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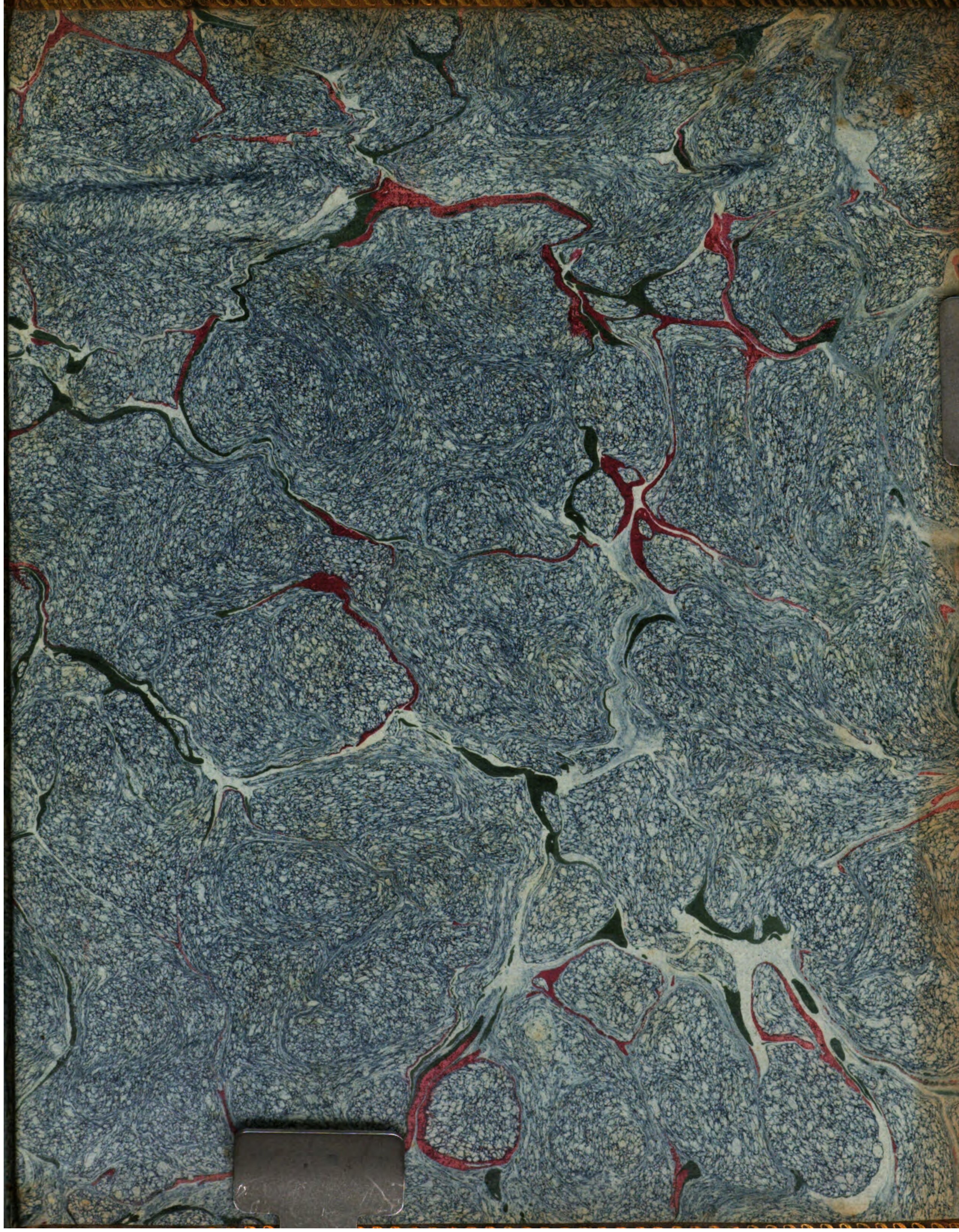
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